MARIA N. TODOROVA

BALKAN FAMILY STRUCTURE AND THE EUROPEAN PATTERN

DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENTS IN OTTOMAN BULGARIA

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Demographic Developments in Ottoman Bulgaria

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Tel: +1-212-547-6932
Fax: +1-646-557-2416
E-mail: mgreenwald@sorosny.org

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For Stoyan, Alex and Anna

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

My cordial thanks are extended to Sorin Antohi who kindly urged me, during our wonderful stay at the Wissenschaftskolleg in Berlin in 2004–2005, to submit *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern* to the Central European University Press for a second edition. The book appeared in 1993 in a very small print and, a couple of years later, was already out of print. In 2002, a Bulgarian translation was published in Sofia.[1]

The present edition is an updated and revised version of the first. Some minor changes have been made in the text, chiefly updating names, improving explanations, rectifying errors, and adding references. While I have not undertaken additional primary research or added new sources, in the past dozen years after the publication of the volume, I published several articles on this problematic issue that strengthen or refine the major conclusions of the work. They have been included in the bibliography, and one of them—"On the Epistemological Value of Family Models: the Balkans within the European pattern"—has been added as Appendix VI. The present bibliography, while not pretending to be exhaustive, has added a considerable number of titles that appeared in the past decade. I continue to stand by the main results of this study and, to my great pleasure, these have been reflected in the major syntheses on the European family that have appeared recently.[2]

1 Maria Todorova, *Balkanskoto semeistvo. Istoricheska demografiia na bîlgarskoto obshtestvo prez osmanskiia period,* Sofia: Amitsitiia, 2002.

2 David Kertzer and Mario Barbagli, eds. *The History of the European Family. Volume Two. Family Life in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1789–1913* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), esp. pp. 60–61, 77–80, 306–309; Jack Goody, *The European Family. An Historico-Anthropological Essay* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), esp. pp. 108–111; Richard Wall, Tamara K. Hareven and Josef Ehmer with the assistance of Markus Cerman, *Family History Revisited. Comparative Perspectives* (Newark: University of Delaware Press and London: Associated University Presses, 2001), esp. pp. 217–307.

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My grateful thanks are due to a number of individuals and institutions. The late Prof. Tsonko Genov and Bozhidar Dimitrov from the National Museum in Sofia alerted me to the presence of several newly acquired Catholic registers in the archives of the museum. They gave me kind permission to work with them even before they were catalogued. The parish priest of the Saint Michael Archangel church in Rakovski, despite his bitter experience with and often justified distrust of authorities and individuals, put the church collection at my disposal. The personnel of the City and District Archives of Plovdiv were particularly helpful in locating the existing parish registers in their collection which, although catalogued, do not appear in the published guide to the archive. I wish to thank them for their hospitality and for their promptness in preparing the microfilms. As always, the staff of the "Historical heritage" Directorate at the Chief Management of the Archives in Sofia, and especially its head Panto Kolev have been most helpful with all kinds of technical assistance. P. Kolev also permitted me to use some of the newly received Catholic documents in the archives.

The same generous attitude was displayed by the personnel of the Oriental Department of the St. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia. My personal thanks go to my two teachers in Ottoman Turkish paleography: Stefan Andreev and Asparukh Velkov. Likewise, the friendly help of Anni Kirilova from the Archives of the Ethnographic Institute and Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences facilitated my work with the ponderous collection of the institute. My short stay at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign permitted me to work with the Philip Mosely Collection. I thank the librarians for alerting me to its location and helping me in every possible way to find as much as possible in the short time I had at my disposal.

A grant from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences enabled me to spend a month with the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure in 1987, and a month with the Laboratoire de démographie historique at the Maison de l'homme in Paris. I could profit from their unique collections of literature in historical demography, as well as from interesting contacts which they made possible. A fellowship at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in 1988 enabled me not only to use the unlimited resources of the Library

of Congress but also provided me with the wonderful atmosphere for writing and intellectual exchange without the onerous demands of teaching and the stress of academic competition. Two chapters of the book were written there. I benefited particularly from the final colloquium at the Wilson Center and from the comments of John Gillis and Gay Gulickson.

A Fulbright scholarship for teaching and a Mellon Distinguished Visiting Professorship from Rice University, although not directly related to my project, enabled me to finish my manuscript at a time when the fascinating, but all too exciting events in my country would have prevented me from concentrating on anything without "democracy" in the title. I will specially cherish the memory of the stimulating and congenial relations in the Department of History at Rice University. I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to all these agencies and institutions.

Some parts of chapters VI, VII and VIII are extended versions of, or are based on material previously published in articles which have appeared in *Etudes balkaniques*, *Istoricheski pregled*, and *East European Politics and Societies*. The publishers of these journals have given their kind permission to use this previously published material here.

Finally, and most importantly, several colleagues read earlier or final versions of the manuscript: Joel Halpern, Nikolai Botev, John Lampe, Tanya Boneva. I am indebted to them not only for their careful reading and many helpful suggestions, but also for the numerous conversations and constant friendly encouragement.

I
INTRODUCTION

Rethinking the Unknown

Speaking about the falling rate of out-wedlock conceptions in Europe during the latter half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, Edward Shorter observed:

> This precipitous drop in illegitimate fertility extended to virtually every province of every country in Europe, save Bulgaria. (What was happening in Bulgaria, nobody knows) (Shorter 1977, 83).

Apart from the fact that "nobody knows" should be translated as "the author does not know" or as "there is nothing available in the English language," this is a statement typical of most works in historical demography, with their tendency to venture into the stormy sea of broad comparisons. On one hand, little, if any historical demographic work is known to have been done on Bulgaria. On the other hand, the country is not completely overlooked; rather, it is included by induction in generalizations about Eastern Europe, thus providing yet another unproven proof for historical stereotypes.

There are clearly two aspects to this study. Primarily, and emotionally, it was conceived as a reaction to excessive generalizations based on the Western European experience, hence the inclusion of "rethinking" in the otherwise pompous title of this introductory chapter.[1] These generalizations concern first and foremost the place of the Balkans in the model of the European family.

The study of family history has developed rapidly since the early 1960s. In the process it has produced a few generalizations, and has refuted a lot of erstwhile truths. The hectic pace of change can be attributed to an enormous increase in the number of sources and a new emphasis on quantitative data.[2]

Previous ideas on the European families of the past rested primarily on speculative theories based on nineteenth century evolutionary thinking. This included the idea of stages of family history, of a progressive and irreversible evolution from complex/large forms to simple/small ones. It also included a certain deterministic trait, an assumption that mankind as a whole would necessarily pass through all the phases of the supposed evolution. It is by no means irrelevant that the existing ideas on the European family were formed primarily by

sociologists. Historians had accomplished little if any research in the field. With the advent of the new evidence, this comfortable picture was exploded. What came instead was a complexity and richness very difficult to frame into a new grand theory. The historians who had had the greatest luck with a long tradition of systematically kept records, pertinent to a historical-demographic analysis, were the English and the French. Naturally, they were the first ones to refute a lot of the commonly held beliefs and, significantly enough, also the first ones to embark on a new theorizing effort.

Here I will be dealing only with the attempt to create a regional model of the historic European family. The first ground-breaking conclusion, based on Northwestern European evidence (primarily British, Dutch and Northern French), was the fact of the predominance and importance of the simple or nuclear family household already by the sixteenth century, and very probably earlier (though this is not so well documented).

One important effort was (and still is) the elaboration of an adequate conceptual framework general enough to embrace all possible variations and consequently permit a proper comparative approach. Among a number of very good general treatments of the subject of European family history, two collective works (both published by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure) stand out as landmarks in this respect. One was produced in 1972 by Laslett and Wall. It offered a typology and attempted to make a global comparison, based on data from five historic regions—England, Western Europe, Serbia, Japan and North America. In fact, since the early 1970s most comparative studies on household type and structure have followed the classification proposed by P. Laslett in this volume (Laslett and Wall 1972, 31). As remarked by a member of the Cambridge group, "one of the great successes of *Household and family in past time* could be said to be the table on household by kin composition. It is the table most often replicated even by those who maintain a formal antipathy to household studies *per se*" (Wall, Robin and Laslett 1983, 5).

The second volume—*Family Forms in Historic Europe* (Wall, Robin and Laslett 1983)—appeared some eleven years later. It was less ambitious in scope (comprising only Europe), but significantly more elaborate and sophisticated. It postulated the existence of four basic regions in traditional Europe where a fourfold tendency in household composition could be observed. This model came to substitute (or rather elaborate) the previously accepted one of two regions with the symbolic demarcation line running roughly from Leningrad to Trieste (Wall, Robin and Laslett 1983, 5).

The zone to the north and west of this boundary had been depicted as the region of the unique European marriage pattern (defined by high marriage ages for both sexes and a high degree of celibacy) and *ergo,* a unique family, a unique

household and all of the following unique consequences; the rest of Europe (as well as the rest of the world) was characterized by the non-European or traditional marriage pattern, typified by a low age at marriage of both partners and where marriage is practically universal marriages.

The four-region hypothesis of household typology can be summarized briefly as follows: It subdivides the European region into a "west and north-west," a "west/central or middle," a "southern or Mediterranean" and an "eastern" zone (Laslett 1983, 513). Geographically the zones have not been and cannot be meticulously defined. As some scholars point out "the within-region variability might exceed the between-region variability in respect of a number of characteristics" (Laslett 1983, 525).

The regions are defined on the basis of four sets of criteria: the occasion and method of domestic group formation, procreational and demographic characteristics, kin composition of groups, organization of work and welfare. Applying a classification difficult to define in quantitative terms, the model argues that the long-term history of the family in each of these regions has been following a common evolution different from that of the other regions (Laslett 1983, 526-527).

The argumentation of this model is logical and sophisticated; it is worded very cautiously and with a proclaimed readiness to retreat from any overgeneralization whenever the contrary could be proven. The models' only shortcoming is the quantity of evidence used for each region. The sources typifying[3] each case are separate villages in the four respective areas: England, Germany, Italy and Russia. The problem arises when the evidence is judged as a reliable sample. The first two regions, and especially the north-western one, can be said to be very well documented and studied. A vast body of local studies has been produced and some excellent generalizations have appeared (Wrigley and Schofield 1981; Mitterauer and Sieder 1982; Plakans 1984; Segalen 1986; Anderson 1980; Burguière et al, 1986).

Studies in family history for the Mediterranean and especially the East European regions are much more limited. A number of reasons account for this: a later interest in the field; the difficulty of discovering and interpreting (from the point of view of paleography and diplomatics) appropriate sources in traditionally multinational, multilingual and politically turbulent regions; the incomparably scarcity of documentary evidence.

The southern model is based almost entirely on Italian material, whereas the eastern one rests exclusively on the few, if pioneering and good studies on several Russian villages, Hungary, Poland and the Baltic area (Czap 1983; Kochanowicz 1983; Plakans 1983; Palli 1983; Andorka and Faragó 1983; as well as the literature cited in these works).

The fourfold model does not explicitly position the Balkans in any one of the four (or, as is to be expected, in one of the two latter) regions, since there has

been comparatively little statistical research.[4] But whenever overall accounts or conclusions are presented, the approach to Southeastern Europe (the Balkans) vacillates between neglect (i.e. this part of Europe simply does not exist) and ignorance (i.e. unchecked traditional stereotypes are attributed to the region).[5]

One of the most recent and sophisticated contemporary treatments of the regional model of the European family has been done by André Burguière (Burguière et al. 1986, v.2, 25–58). His excellent synthesis of existing scholarship warns against the pitfalls of specific research techniques, the character of historical sources, and airy generalizations. Significantly enough, Burguière does not make specific attempts to place the Balkans in any of the big historical or geographical areas of the European family model. He sticks to the existing studies, which for Southeastern Europe are practically absent. Only in one instance does he allow himself a generalization, namely that:

> From Serbia in the south to Courland or Estonia in the north, passing through Poland and Russia, one encounters certain common features: a household size (with an average of 8 to 9 individuals) which is much larger than in the West, and a strong propensity for multiple households. These are two characteristics which carry to the extreme the trends already visible in Central Europe (Burguière et al. 1986, v.2, 38).

Burguière's analysis is important in the discussion of the factors contributing to a tendency toward communal family life. Burguière refuses to attribute this propensity solely to serfdom, but sees it in the broader context of the economic structure of specific societies. He concludes with a typically cautious remark: "The situation, however, varies so strongly from one region to another that it is difficult to come up with a homogeneous model" (Burguière et al. 1986, v.2. 38).

Less cautious generalizations have been made which depict the Balkan area as having, as one scholar has said, "a very persistent tendency towards household complexity," where "the joint patrilinear household still holds pride of place" (Plakans 1986, 9).

In *The European Family: patriarchy to partnership from the Middle Ages to the Present*, an important summary of recent scholarship on the European family, the Southeast European area was described as *par excellence* the region of large families along with Russia and the Baltic region:

> The best-known and most intensively investigated example of the large family is the so-called *zadruga* in the Balkans. It occurs in Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia and Bulgaria and in historic times was the dominant type of family in large areas (Mitterauer and Sieder 1982, 29).

This abobe statement pinpoints the phenomenon of the large family in its local attire, using the term *zadruga.* Many authors would employ the term interchangeably with extended, multiple, complex, large, communal family, but practically no one has dared ignore it, if for no other reason, then at least for the unique local flavor it conveys.

Thus, the attempt at a reassessment of the traditional stereotype concerning the place of the Balkans in the model of the European family leads one to examine the size and structure of family households in a comparative European framework as well as to deal with the problem of one particular family form: the South Slav *zadruga,* and its development and distribution in the Balkans, particularly among the Bulgarians. At the same time an attempt has been made to demythologize the character of the *zadruga* in the existing literature.

Secondly, the present volume can be treated as a case study of an underinvestigated area, hence the use of the word "unknown" in this chapter's title. This book's immediate goal is to provide a synthesis of the existing sources (albeit fragmentary) and of the existing research (albeit meager).

The setting is Ottoman Bulgaria with a heavy emphasis on the nineteenth century. This emphasis is to be explained primarily by the character of the sources, which for the given type of analysis are reliable (though not necessarily representative), only for the nineteenth century, as will be shown later. Still, why Bulgaria, and why the nineteenth century?

It could be argued that the nineteenth century is of particular importance for the Balkan region. It has been rightly labelled the century of the Balkan national revolutions in recognition of the massive and successful uprisings that followed nearly 500 years of Ottoman domination (e.g., the Serbian revolts of 1804 and 1815, the Greek war for independence of 1821, the Romanian revolutions of 1821 and 1848, the series of Bulgarian revolts culminating with the April insurrection of 1876) (Djordjevic 1965; Djordjevic and Galati 1981). It was also the century of the establishment of the Balkan national states, otherwise referred to by exasperated Western politicians as the "Balkanization" of the Ottoman Empire (see the establishment of Serbia in 1830 as an autonomous principality, recognized as independent in 1878; the Greek kingdom in 1830; unified Romania in 1861 and its independence in 1878; the independence of Bulgaria, *de facto* in 1878 and *de jure* in 1908; the independence of Albania in 1913) (Jelavich 1977).

Accompanying or underlying social changes such as urbanization, industrialization, intensified social differentiation, bureaucratization after the creation of the autonomous or independent nation states, and the growth of literacy saw their beginnings during the nineteenth century. However, it would be "modernizing" modernization too much to maintain that all these phenomena were in full swing during the nineteenth century. They were essentially characteristic only

for the end of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries (Lampe and Jackson 1982; Kasaba 1988).

From a demographic point of view, the nineteenth century was the eve of the Balkan demographic transition. The traditional typology of the demographic transition generally outlines three major types:

1 the transition characteristic for the countries of Europe, with an annual rate of natural population increase below 2 percent and a long transition period (75 to 200 years);
2 an intermediate type, sometimes called semi-transition, characteristic for the major destination of immigrants, such as the United States, Canada, and Australia;
3 the transition typical for developing countries, which experience a relatively short transition period of 40 to 80 years, with a considerable drop in fertility, and a natural population increase exceeding 2 percent.

The first type has three subgroups, which offer three models of transition. The northern, exemplified by Sweden, Norway, Finland, the United Kingdom, Denmark and the Netherlands, has a very long transition period (over a century and a half) and reached the plateau of maximum growth in the 1870s. The western transition period (Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Poland) lasted about a century and peaked by 1900. The southern period (Italy, Spain, Portugal, Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania and the U.S.S.R) had a somewhat shorter transition period (between 70 and 90 years) from the late 1870s to the 1960s, and was marked by a long plateau in the first decades of the twentieth century (Chesnais 1983, 107–113).[6]

For Bulgaria it has been convincingly shown that the beginning of the demographic transition falls in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and is fully underway after the second decade of the twentieth (Donkov 1979, 28–47). Thus, the Ottoman segment of the nineteenth century (roughly 1800 to 1880) offers the very image of a traditional society on the eve of major changes; this is the Bulgarian *ancien régime.*

As for geography, Bulgaria, more than any other Balkan country, can claim the dubious privilege of being really and entirely Balkan. It is located in the heart of the Balkan peninsula, and the Balkan range (the ancient Haemus, the Stara planina) which gave their name to the region are almost entirely in Bulgaria, dividing the country into northern and southern halves. Because of its geographic location Bulgaria was more isolated than Greece, Serbia or Romania, which experienced outside influences to a greater extent and at an earlier time. More important, as all of these countries were in fact borderlands of the Ottoman Empire, the great struggle of the Ottomans against Venice, the Habsburgs and Russia

was played more often and more intensively in their territories. Not only the warfare and the shifting frontiers but also the very fact of the existence of neighboring states outside the Ottoman political sphere obviously had great repercussions on the movement of the population.

Bulgaria, being in fact the greater European hinterland of the capital Istanbul (formerly Constantinople), was under its immediate control until 1878. This is not meant to say that it avoided the demographic consequences of political dynamics, such as the upheavals accompanying the decentralization of the empire, and particularly the wars of the nineteenth century, most of which were fought on its territory. The emigration of Bulgarians to the Danubian principalities and to Russia during the latter half of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century is well known and has been the object of scholarly research (Veliki and Traykov 1980; Meshcheryuk 1965; Doynov 1974). However, the extent of this emigration was less pronounced and not on a permanent basis comparative to that of contemporary Yugoslavia (Samardžić and Djordjević 1989; Ekmečić 1972–1973; Halpern 1975; Halpern 1987).

It has been argued that incorporation of the Ottoman empire into the European world economy took place approximately from 1750 to 1815, and that the real impetus to intensive trade came from the wars and revolutions of the late eighteenth century which created favorable conditions for the expansion of Ottoman production and trade (Kasaba 1988, 20). The fact that the Balkans were the first Ottoman territories to be integrated into the European economy can be explained by a cluster of factors, chiefly geographic proximity, but also stronger ideological and cultural influences. In the course of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries a fairly strong stratum of local merchants and entrepreneurs was formed. It acquired the role of mediator between Europe *per se* and the Levant. This new merchant class, aptly called "the conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant," was responsible in part for an intensified population movement both within and outside Ottoman territories (Stoianovich 1960). There were numerous Balkan merchant colonies prospering in Vienna, Budapest, Leipzig, Marseilles, Paris, London, Odessa, Moscow, and other major commercial centers of the time (Paskaleva 1962 and 1968; Karidis 1981). While these colonies were predominantly Greek, and were perceived as such, they contained significant populations of all the other Orthodox Balkan nations: Serbs, Bulgarians, Vlachs, and Albanians.

In the Bulgarian case, the merchant bourgeoisie began acting as an entity distinct from the Greek community about 1820. However, a significant merchant *diaspora* occurred primarily in the two decades from the end of the Crimean War until Bulgaria's secession from the Ottoman Empire (1856–1878). The chief centers of Bulgarian industrial and commercial activities were in Vienna, Bucharest, Brăila, Braşov, Odessa, Moscow, Istanbul (Genchev 1988; Gandev

1943–1944; Iurdanov 1938). While qualitatively extremely important, the role of the merchant class should not be overestimated in quantitative terms. The two most important centers, Istanbul and Bucharest, were both outside the immediate Bulgarian lands but very much within the Ottoman Empire. This is not meant to underestimate the activities of Bulgarian merchants in Odessa, Vienna, Leipzig, Moscow, and other cities. The point to be stressed here is that the new social trends, however radical and revolutionary, were not accompanied by drastic population shifts from or to the Bulgarian territories, and not on a par with the population movement of the Greeks.

During the nineteenth century, there were significant movements within the Bulgarian territories. These comprised the slow, but permanent trend of increasing urban populations, thanks primarily to the constant flow of the rural population to the cities. For example, Northern Bulgaria, a territory with a comparatively strong urban tradition and continuity of urban life from pre-Ottoman times, had an urban population of nearly 18% by the 1870s (Todorov 1983, 322). The corresponding figure for Greece is 16.8% for 1870, and for Serbia 9.5% (Todorov 1983, 329, 332, 335, 338). A closely connected phenomenon was the rate of internal migrations. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the percentage of urban migrants comprised from 0.5% to 4% of the towns' population. In a typical migratory region, such as Northeast Bulgaria and the Dobrudzha, this percentage would rise to 6% of the total urban population (Todorov 1983, 366–383, 461–462). These migrants, who were primarily of urban origin, resettled in cities.

In the last decades of Ottoman rule there was also a substantial rural migration, primarily a flow of workers from the mountain regions to the valleys. This migration was exclusively seasonal. Despite all this evidence for an increasing social mobility particularly after the middle of the nineteenth century, it seems that, as a whole, the Bulgarian population can be treated as approximating the case of a closed population.[7]

Ottoman Bulgaria during the nineteenth century also represents a curious cluster of diverse, sometimes conflicting, but usually co-existing traditions: religious (Greek Orthodoxy, Islam, Catholicism, Judaism and other minor denominations) and cultural (stemming from local differences and the co-existence of numerous ethnic groups: Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, Gypsies, Armenians, Jews and many more smaller communities). Unlike Greece and Serbia, which with independence and autonomy in 1830 assumed the character of homogeneous national states, Bulgaria until 1878 came closer to displaying the ethnic and religious diversity typical for the Ottoman Empire as a whole.

All this in itself might be considered a sufficient answer to the legitimate question asked by a social scientist: Why Ottoman Bulgaria and why the nineteenth century (the presumption being that an experiment is set in a given context and a given period, in order to answer a specific set of questions concerning differ-

ent aspects of the demographic behavior of the population)? As already mentioned, one of the foci of this study is the family structure in nineteenth century Ottoman Bulgarian society in the context of the European pattern. It has been deemed necessary to do this against a more general background, providing an adequate analysis, as far as the sources permit, of the age and sex structure of the population, and the patterns of nuptiality, fertility and mortality.

However, being primarily a historian of the Balkans, and particularly of the nineteenth century, rather than a social scientist, I share with other historians what may be considered both a fallacy and a virtue, namely the habit not of asking questions which should be answered by sources, but of asking the sources which questions they can answer and to what extent. To a great degree, therefore, the character of this work is shaped by the types of sources at my disposal (see Appendix I).

It ought to be emphasized in this context that the chief problem with historical studies of the Balkans, and particularly of Bulgaria prior to the twentieth century, is the comparatively meager documentary base. It is to be expected that a great amount of quantitative material would stem from the records left by the ruling Ottoman bureaucracy. However, one is faced, rather relative deficiency and unavailability of the Ottoman material. This deficiency is relative in so far as the sheer number of materials kept, for example, in the Oriental Department of the St. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia is staggering. This is, unfortunately, a seeming abundance because most often there is an accumulation of documents of one type for only several periods. On the other hand, the rich archives of Turkey have been inaccessible to Bulgarian historians before the end of the Cold War, when the empirical material for this study was assembled.[8]

Still, some of the available Ottoman registers, chiefly of a fiscal character, constitute an important part of the source material for this work. Their detailed characteristics and assessment, as well as of the other types of sources, can be found in the relevant chapters and paragraphs (see Appendix I, sec. A).

Many of the modern historical demographic studies is based on specific sources such as parish registers, and specific techniques, chiefly the so-called family reconstitution method. Consequently, these studies are almost completely limited to the territories under the administration of the Catholic or Protestant churches, i.e., to Western Europe and later to North and South America. The practice of keeping parish registers was never introduced as an obligatory rule by the Greek Orthodox Church. The OrthodoxChurch also registered christenings, marriages and burials, but only for accounting purposes and on a more sporadic basis. Therefore, it has not left a heritage of methodically maintained and complete registers.

Trying to trace the documentation of the Bulgarian Catholics I came across some parish registers for several Catholic villages in the Plovdiv district (see

Appendix I, sec. B). These registers constitute the second group of sources for this analysis. Presumptuous as it may sound, given the history of Catholicism in Bulgaria (its later spread and even later affirmation among heretical groups which seceded from the Orthodox church), as well as the ethnographic characteristics of the population of these villages, it can be safely argued that the Catholic population is representative of the village population if one overlooks confessional differences.

A third group of sources comes from the Archives of the Ethnographical Institute and Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (EIM/BAN). These archives include a number of questionnaires by the members of the institute from the 1950s to 1970s, as well as earlier observations by teachers from the 1930s and 1940s. The interviewed informants were usually born in the last decades of the nineteenth century or the beginning of the twentieth century. Thus, it can be argued that the information they gave could be considered authentic at least from the middle of the nineteenth century, and possibly earlier. This source has no statistical character, but represents valuable additional illustrative material, which confirms or explains certain observations. In addition, for regions where statistical information of any kind is lacking, these data can be helpful (see Appendix I, sec. C).

Fom a purely statistical and demographic point of view, the representativeness of the material is rather questionable, its stochastic part being too great. However, from the perspective of the social and demographic historian, who is sadly aware of the dearth of sources in the Balkan context, this material is indeed unique. Besides, it has been attempted to make up partly for the scarcity of the quantitative material by drawing on a variety of sources, and by applying an interdisciplinary approach.

In the end, what has hopefully been achieved is a plausible compromise between social history—especially family history—historical demography, anthropology, and intellectual history, specifically *Begriffsgeschichte*.

From a methodological standpoint, in some ways this study might not be in line with the newest developments in the field of family history, historical demography, or anthropology. For example, the realization that kinship subsumes far more than the primary relationships and coresidence, has directed the field to the exploration of the wider dimensions of kinship, overcoming the initial obsession with the household and the demographic processes. The same can be said about the recent emphasis on the life-course approach, which has introduced a developmental dimension to family studies, or the inclusion of family history in the greater themes of social change. Another important direction of research, considered by some as an "alternate tradition" in the field, is the study of *mentalité* which compensates for the danger of ahistoricism inherent in many of the quantitative studies (Wheaton 1987; Hareven 1987; Tilly 1987).

However, as already indicated, the character of this work was dictated primarily by the amount and type of the available sources and of previous scholarship. In the face of the very limited number of studies for the Balkan region, and Bulgaria in particular, any approach, however *démodé,* can be justified as pioneering. When nothing, or almost nothing, has been done in an abandoned, or unused field, it might be well to start with a preliminary plowing up before applying the latest fertilizers.

Notes

1 There are, obviously, remarkable exceptions to this bias, for example Goody (1883 and 1990).
2 There is an immense literature dealing with the history, tasks and achievements of the discipline. A specialized bibliography is Soliday 1980. A current bibliography on a yearly basis is published by the *Annales de démographie historique.* For recent evaluations of the field see Laslett 1987; Plakans 1986. The latter work is cited with the courteous permission of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.
3 It is difficult to treat the four sets of populations other than by "typifying," although P. Laslett emphasizes that they are used "to illustrate rather than to represent regions of Europe which seem to have had distinguishable forms of family and household" (Laslett 1983, 516).
4 An exception in this respect is the research done by several American anthropologists and demographers mainly on Yugoslavia. The important contributions of Hammel, Halpern, Kerewski-Halpern and Wagner are cited and discussed in more detail in later chapters.
5 There is a specific version of ignorance: the specter of politics. In it the approach follows roughly the post-war arrangements and in fact artificially divides a historical entity. For the ideological implications of the European family model see chapter VIII: "Conclusion: A Hypothesis of Converging Theories."
6 On the theory of the demographic transition see Chesnais 1977; P. Khalatbari 1983; Caldwell 1976; Coale 1969; Coale, Anderson and Härm 1979.
7 A closed population is defined as having no migration, and where, as a consequence, population growth depends entirely upon the difference between births and deaths.
8 The last Bulgarian historian to have been admitted for a longer research period in the Ottoman archives before 1989 was Pancho Dorev 1940.

II
POPULATION STRUCTURE

Bulgaria's first census was held in 1880. The results, which were for the autonomous Principality of Bulgaria only (today's Northern Bulgaria), were published in 1881. The semi-autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia (today's Southern Bulgaria) held a census in 1884. In the interval between the unification of Bulgaria in 1885 and the First World War, general censuses of the population were held in 1887, 1892, 1900, 1905 and 1910. The latter three censuses were the first to be carried out after the so called "General Population and Housing Census Law" was passed in 1897. In terms of program, organization and methodology, they began a tradition of Bulgarian censuses equal in quality to those of other European states (*Sto godini* 1984; Naoumov, Stefanov and Sougarev 1974, 5–6).

As for the censuses from the last decades of the nineteenth century, the practice of the demographic statistics was still imperfect and inexact. Moreover, the preliminary questionnaires, on which the censuses were based, have not been preserved.[1]

For the period before 1878, with Bulgaria still part of the Ottoman Empire, one has to rely on the data from the Ottoman census system. The Ottomans introduced a reasonably efficient system of counting their population which was both a part and a result of their modernizing efforts of the nineteenth century. The first census was initiated by Sultan Mahmud II in 1829, three years after the destruction of the Janissaries, and was intended to assist in the creation of a new army and bureaucracy. Although the status of the 1831 census as the first nineteenth century census after a hiatus of almost two centuries has been questioned (Karpat 1985, 19), it is obviously that it is the first *known* census, and certainly the first from the reform period immediately preceding the Tanzimat. Given the difficult conditions under which it was carried out, one can characterize its results as only approximate (Karpat 1985, 18–23; Shaw 1978, 325–327; Karal 1943). In the Ottoman empire only Muslims were subjected to conscription, with the exception of certain large cities, such as Istanbul, whose citizens were exempt from military service. The Christians and the Jews, on the other hand, were counted for the purpose of collecting the poll-tax (or head-tax) known as *cizye*. Thus the 1831 census, undertaken for strictly military and fiscal purposes, included information only on the Muslim male population.

Until the Crimean War (1853–1856), several censuses were undertaken with the purpose of extending and updating the 1831 census, but they have not yet been uncovered (Shaw 1978, 327; Karpat 1985, 23–24). Only the census of 1844 has been used, and that only in part, by A.Ubicini (1853–1854).

After the Crimean War, with the renewed effort of the second generation of Tanzimat leaders to reform the empire's finances, a new department of cadastres (*Tahrir-i Emlâk Nezareti*) was established. It had the specific purpose of registering property for tax purposes. At the same time, it was supposed to count and provide all male subjects, both Muslim and non-Muslim, with population tax certificates (*vergi nüfus tezkeresi*) (Shaw 1978, 327).

Starting in 1847, the Ottoman government published official yearbooks (*salname*) (Karpat 1985, 7–13). Among the data contained in the *salname*, the authorities also listed statistical information on the population. These were summary figures, comprising only the male inhabitants. After 1866 provincial yearbooks began to be published, too, the first one being a *salname* on Bosnia. Separate data on Bulgaria were included for the first time in the 1868 yearbook of the *Tuna vilâyeti* or Danube province, which comprised seven *sancaks* (administrative units), five of which form today's Northern Bulgaria (Ruse, Varna, Vidin, Sofia, and Tîrnovo). One is in modern Serbia (Nish), and one (Tulcha) is part of Romania. These materials have already been evaluated as sources for the historical demography of the Ottoman Empire (Karpat 1985, 6–11; Karpat 1983, 207–218; Todorova and Todorov 1987). The results of these censuses, when and if published, appeared in their final, generalized form. The preliminary detailed schedules, on the basis of which the general tables were compiled, have not been published and have not entered into scientific circulation.

Besides their incompleteness, another characteristic feature of the Ottoman censuses should be emphasized here. They were never undertaken as censuses of the population *per se,* but for some other purpose, either fiscal or military; hence the specific type of the census registers. They were most frequently designed with a fixed number of columns in which the male population, according to *hane*[2] was described according to different characteristics such as occupation, property, and degree of taxation. Since the principal aim of such a registration was to encompass the taxpayer or the potential soldier, as a rule only the male population was included in the *defters* (records). The registration of men formed the basis of all Ottoman censuses until the 1880s.

There are some preserved *defters* left from the preliminary enumeration of the population of the Danubian *vilâyet* (province-level administrative unit) in connection with the census started in 1866. Work on the census apparently had begun already in 1865 and, by the end of the year, the registration of the real estate and the population in one *sancak,* Ruse, had been completed. The details of how the census proceded are still unknown. For some of the later years Shaw reports in

detail on the provisions of the first general census regulation issued in 1874, which reinstalled the Census Department as a separate section in the Ministry of Interior. It provided for the employment of special census officers, instead of the financial or military officers who until then took the count (Shaw 1978, 328–329). Whether this system used the experience of some previous censuses, most likely the one carried out in the exemplary Danube province under Midhat pasha, or was a completely new regulation has yet to be ascertained.

By the summer of 1869, Ruse's local official newspaper, *Tuna/Dunav,* announced that the registration of all cities in the province had been carried out, and the registration of the villages would now proceed. It was only in October 1874 that the newspaper published the general figures on the population, without, however, breaking them down (Todorov 1983, 340–344).

The first *salname* issued for the Danubian *vilâyet* in 1285 A.H. (1868 A.D.) listed population totals for the seven *sancaks* of the province, distinguishing solely between Muslims and non-Muslims. The subsequent yearbooks would also list the number of *hane*, but without any further breakdown of the population (Karpat 1985, 12–13, 116–117).

The Oriental Department of the St. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia (CMNL/OD) stores part of the unpublished archival material containing the original preliminary schedules drawn up for the census. This is not a comprehensive set of documents, covering all censuses and all regions, rather, the material is fragmentary. Part of it, covering the Silistra and Shumen *kaza* (administrative subdivision) for 1872, has been published in table form (Draganova 1980). These published documents, however, are not pertinent to the discussion in the present volume, as their emphasis is on economic issues (type and amount of produce, kinds of taxes, etc.).

Extremely rare and for that reason still more valuable are *defters* in which women were also included in the composition of the household. It would be unnecessary to emphasize the particular importance of such kinds of sources for determining the sex and age structure of the population, as well as the composition of the family and the household.

Age Structure

In this chapter, several *defters* which include women are analyzed for the purpose of reconstructing the age and sex structure of the population. They give information on all members of the households (women and children included), and cover two townsquarters (*mahalle)* of Hadzhioglu Pazardzhik (Tolbukhin until 1989, today Dobrich), two of Silistra, one of Tîrnovo, one of Babadag and two villages in the Babadag *kaza*: a total of 2,360 persons men and women

(CMNL/OD: TL 15/5; SI 30/4; f.179, a.e. 3369; BD 9/5.) Despite the fragmentary character of these registers (they not only fail to comprise the entire population of the *vilâyet,* but refer only to individual quarters of some towns), it seems that successful use could be made of them for demographic analysis.

The registers from Hadzhioglu Pazardzhik are standard models on which are entered data on every individual: name, father's name, year of birth, year of marriage or the status of bachelor or widower, occupation, residence, type of property and yield, and amount of the different taxes paid.

There are no grounds to believe that women were entered with some particular purpose in mind. They were not taxed, and all the columns against their names were left empty. It could very well be that Midhat pasha, the enlightened governor of the Danubian *vilâyet* at that time, under whose supervision the census was carried out, was attempting to emulate the practice of the other European countries. He was well acquainted with some of the economic and administrative practices of Western Europe, which he sought to apply in his europeanizing program, for example, his attempt at organizing modern agricultural credit (Todorova 1972). As it is, the final official publication of the data in the local *salnames* extracted only the pertinent data on men, explicitly adding that women were not counted in the census (Karpat 1985, 116).

The *defter* from Hadzhioglu Pazardzhik includes 100 *hane* (of them 83 were Muslim, 16 Christian and 1 Jewish) and that from Silistra 103 *hane* (all Muslim). The Tîrnovo register covers a Christian *mahalle* with 100 *hane*, with the explicit indication that its inhabitants were Bulgarians. All three *defters* were of the year 1282 (1865/66); two of them are dated and for the Hadzhioglu Pazardzhik one the *terminus ad quem* can be determined by the years of birth, the most recent being 1282. The three *defters* include three towns of the eastern and central parts of the Danubian *vilâyet.* To these three matching sources the fragments of a different source, a register of Babadag and its district are added. It covers the Moldavian *varoş* (quarter) of Babadag and two villages of the adjacent *kaza.* Data have been preserved only on the Moldavian *mahalle* of the town, while the lists of the numerous Bulgarian, Turkish and Tatar population have been lost. The register was drawn up in 1288 A.H. (1871 A.D.). It should be pointed out that the latter source is far less complete—it entails no more than a list of names listing the members of the *hane* (men and women), in which only the age is indicated.

Two considerations favored inclusion of this source. First, it is the first source hitherto containing information on villages, and consequently which would permit certain comparisons, however incomplete, to be made. Secondly, this source is interesting in that it is the first encountered which indicates the nationality of each *hane*. Thus, of a total of 87 *hane* in the Moldavian *varoş,* 40 were Moldavian, 33 Cossack, 8 Moldavian Gypsy, 2 Lipovan (Russian schismatics), 3 Armenian

and 1 Greek. In its turn the registration of the two Babadag villages covers 138 *hane,* of which 57 were Circassian and 81 of various Muslim tribes from the Crimean Peninsula. Altogether, data available cover 532 Bulgarians, 864 Turks, 198 Moldavians, 115 Cossacks, 276 Circassians and 375 Crimean Tatars.

All four *defters* represent inventories, not of an arbitrary contingent of persons, but of whole *mahalles* and villages with their *hane*, in which all the members of the families and all ages are included. The comparison of the parameters obtained from the different registers should not present a problem, since all data refer to a single geographical region during the same period.

As far as the representativeness of the material is concerned, it could be treated as a cluster sample of a general totality (in this case the population of the central and eastern parts of the Danubian *vilâyet*). From the onset, therefore, it should be noted that many of the inferences and generalizations are valid only for a specific region, and in certain cases only for the urban population. Only the discovery of similar material from other regions would make it possible to expand or specify the validity of the conclusions drawn.

Generalized data on the age and sex structure are set out in Table 2.1. Recalculating the age of the persons from their dates of birth, the population has been distributed in five-year age groups. Although the year of birth has been indicat-

Table 2.1. Composition of the population, by age and sex

Age groups	*Men N*	*Men %*	*Women N*	*Women %*	*Total N*	*Total %*
0–4	198	16.0	187	16.6	385	16.3
5–9	145	11.7	135	12.0	280	11.9
10–14	123	10.0	127	11.3	250	10.6
15–19	115	9.3	96	8.5	211	9.0
20–24	98	7.9	85	8.5	183	7.8
25–29	95	7.7	95	8.4	190	8.1
30–34	84	6.8	65	5.8	149	6.3
35–39	72	5.8	63	5.6	135	5.7
40–44	62	5.0	59	5.3	121	5.1
45–49	54	4.4	55	4.9	109	4.6
50–54	51	4.1	43	3.8	94	4.0
55–59	37	3.0	15	1.3	52	2.2
60–64	39	3.2	48	4.3	87	3.7
65–69	25	2.0	16	1.4	41	1.7
70–74	19	1.5	22	1.9	41	1.7
75–79	9	0.7	8	0.7	17	0.7
80+	8	0.6	7	0.6	15	0.6
total	1234	100.0	1126	100.0	2360	100.0

ed in the registers, it is clear that it was recorded the other way round. The clerk would receive information on the age of the person and then would calculate the year of birth. Otherwise it would be impossible to explain the fact of an obvious accumulation of people born in a five-year range. For instance, in the case of Bulgarians from Tîrnovo, there is an accumulation of people born in 1237 A.H. (1821/22 A.D.), 1242 A.H. (1826/27 A.D.), 1247 A.H. (1831/32 A.D.), 1252 A.H. (1836/37 A.D.) and 1257 A.H. (1841/42 A.D.). Men would usually round their ages at 25, 30, 40 and 45, and women at 25, 30, 35, 40 and 45. Nearly 25% of the widows point to 1222 A.H. as the year of their birth, i.e. at the time of the registration they would have been exactly 60. It is obvious that people often did not give (and did not know) their exact age, but indicated round, approximate figures, something well known from historical demographic studies of other parts of Europe. The index of rounding in this instance is high—it varies from 2.14 to 4.53 (1 being the index for a normal distribution). The data in the table have not been corrected, since our purpose is not to obtain accurate parameters or to compare individual age groups in detail, but to observe some general trends.

Table 2.2 shows the distribution of the whole population in three age groups by nationality. It uses the age distribution proposed by Gustav Sundbärg in his classification of population types into progressive, stationary and regressive.[3]

Table 2.2. Age structure by nationalities (in percentages)

Age groups	*Bulgarians*	*Turkish*	*Moldavians*	*Cossacks*	*Circassian*	*Crimean immigrants*	*Total*
0–14	41	36	3	31	41	45	39
15–49	46	49	52	45	45	43	47
50+	13	15	11	24	14	12	14

All ethnic groups displayed a typical progressive age structure, characterized by a high birth rate and a high mortality rate. This is particularly emphasized in the case of the Bulgarians, the Circassians and the different Crimean tribes. The only exception, which is to be explained later, was the Cossacks, who came rather close to a stationary population.

Some of the differences are the result of the particular sex ratio or the structure of the household; some are due to specific historical or local conditions. However, there are no distinctions following confessional lines. Thus, it would be difficult to accept the contention that, while the non-Muslim population after the 1830s displayed a high growth rate and had a progressive age structure, the Muslim population declined or remained stationary (Karpat 1985, 9–11). Moreover, the conclusion about the overall progressive population development

is corroborated by data on 71 villages in the two *kaza* of Silistra and Shumen from the same period. The age structure of Bulgarians, Turks, Tatars and Muslim Gypsies is summarized in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Age Structure of the rural population by nationalities

Age groups	*Bulgarians*		*Turks*		*Tatars*		*Gypsies*	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
0–14	2,349	46.66	4,041	41.87	202	37.96	156	44.82
15–49	2,221	43.18	4,221	43.74	255	47.93	141	40.52
50+	574	11.15	1,388	14.38	75	14.10	51	14.65

Source: Draganova 1980, 329–439. Additional proof from an earlier period (1844) for seven Muslim villages from the Plovdiv *nahiye* (Southern Bulgaria) can be found in Güran 1980, 55–56. Unfortunately, the *defters* used in the latter study register only males, and cannot be successfully used for other comparisons.

According to another widespread classification, using different age intervals, the data for the Bulgarian population can be compared with respective data from later periods, as shown on Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 Age structure of the Bulgarian population (in percentages)

Age group	*1866*	*1900*	*1905*	*1920*	*1934*	*1946*
0–19 young	47.7	51.1	49.7	47.4	42.8	37.8
20–59 adult	43.8	40.5	41.8	44.1	49.4	52.7
60+ old	8.5	8.4	8.5	8.5	7.8	9.5

Source: The data for 1900 are from Michev 1978, 112, and the data for 1905, 1920, 1934 and 1946 from Naoumov, Stefanov and Sougarev 1974, 25.

The data for 1865/66 obviously conform best to the ones from 1920. However, while all other figures reflect the general population of the country, the ones for 1865/66 describe only the urban Bulgarian population of a specific region. It could be expected that the size of the 0–19 age group would be even larger for the rural population during the same period.

For comparison, analogous data from a Serbian village in 1863, as well as general figures for 1900, are summarized in Table 2.5 (Halpern 1981, 66). The figures for Serbia attest to an even stronger case of a progressive population, but on the whole they are commensurate with the Bulgarian ones.

Table 2.5 Age Structure of the Serbian Population (in percentages)

Age group	*Orasac–1863*	*Towns–1900*	*Villages–1900*	*Total–1900*
0–20	62.8	44	55	53
20–60	36.2	51	41	43
61+	1.0	5	4	4

Still, it is clear that throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century the age pyramid was stable with minor fluctuations, and that the steady decline in the size of the "young" age group, i.e., the base of the age pyramid, began only after the 1920s.

Sex Structure

The data from Table 2.1 illustrate an interesting phenomenon: men outnumbering women at a sex ratio of 109.6. This fact has already been registered before, and according to the preliminary results of the census for fifteen towns in the Danubian *vilâyet*, published in 1865 in *Tuna/Dunav*, the sex ratio was 104 (Todorov 1983, 360–361). At the same time, this phenomenon was not confined to Bulgaria, but was typical for the Balkans, at least throughout the nineteenth century. Thus, for Greece according to the censuses of 1861 and 1870 the sex ratio was 107, and in 1879 it rose to 110 (Serelea 1977, 14). For Serbia in 1866 it amounted to 106 (Todorov 1983, 333). Partial data on Albania for the end of the nineteenth century indicate a sex ratio of 103.5 (Berxholi 1987, 10–11).

Different factors can be pointed out to account for the uneven sex ratio: the higher mortality of women (both maternal and neonatal female mortality), due to the relative neglect of the female health; a demographic regime of high fertility and high mortality, with a consequent preponderance of the younger age groups among which women do not enjoy biological superiority; comparatively limited emigration, which did not sever considerable strata from the male population; conversely, in cases of immigration, males constituting the majority of the immigrants; and the underenumeration of women (Michev 1978, 104–106; Todorov 1983, 361; Serelea 1977, 15–16).[4]

This last explanation, though obviously grounded in the imperfect statistics, as well as in the behavioral patterns and mentality of the period, sometimes tends to dismiss unjustifiably the phenomenon as a simple artifact. For example, characterizing male predominance as an "improbable finding may reflect the relative importance attributed to the two sexes at the time," some authors

conclude that all Greek censuses before 1920 were inaccurate because of extensive underreporting and misstatements (Trichopoulos et al., 1974, 44).

In Bulgaria, males outnumbered females over a prolonged period, when the otherwise justified skepticism about statistics would not apply. In fact, the quality of the statistics after the turn of the century was exemplary. Thus, until the late 1960s Bulgarian censuses showed a male predominance, although clearly after the Second World War there was a steady narrowing of the male majority which would eventually disappear altogether (Naseleniye 1968, 12). Indeed, by the 1940s, for the countries of Europe which had published statistics, only two had a sex ratio in favor of men: Ireland and Bulgaria (*Demographic yearbook,* 1948, 1949/50). Albania is to be added to this number, although there were no comparable statistics for the pre-Second World War period. By 1970s the only European countries with a majority of men were Albania, Iceland, Ireland, Gibraltar and the Vatican (*Demographic yearbook* 1977).

There were two exceptions to the rule of male dominance in Bulgaria: the censuses of 1920 and 1946. However, reflecting the devastation of the male population resulting from the two world wars, they are atypical. In the villages, the ratio of women was always higher than in the towns, and the numerical equality of the sexes, followed by a female superiority came about in the villages already in the interwar period (Michev 1978, 105–106).

In Greece, without denying a male majority, it can be shown that there was a definite underenumeration of females during the latter half of the nineteenth century. A substantial underregistration of female births has been convincingly demonstrated by calculating the sex ratio at birth (Serelea 1977, 25).

A look back at the Ottoman data for the 1860s, along with a comparison of the sex ratios for the different age groups, shows that the predominance of men started only after the age of 15 (Table 2.6). The sex ratio of the first age group (0–4) in fact conforms to the normal and constant sex ratio at birth (105–106). This indicates that the explanation in the case of the Ottoman data for the 1860s is not to be found in the registration practices of the period, but rather in real demographic events.

Table 2.6 Sex ratios by age groups, c.1860

Age	*Ratio*	*Age*	*Ratio*	*Age*	*Ratio*	*Age*	*Ratio*
0–4:	105.8	15–24:	117.6	35–44:	109.8	55–64:	120.6
5–14:	102.2	25–34:	111.8	45–54:	107.1	65+ :	115.1

Table 2.7 sets out the sex ratio according to ethnic group. This tabulation is guided by the desire to establish certain characteristic features for the different nationalities, as well as to follow up the effects of age, especially during child-bearing years, on the population structure.

In the case of the Cossack inhabitants of Babadag, accurately the ratio of men to women explains the general age structure which is close to a stationary population. The marked surplus of men in the two age groups 15–49 and over 50 can be attributed to the fact that the Cossacks were as a whole recent immigrants, chiefly military, who had come without women, and had not yet succeeded in forming families in their new homeland.

Table 2.7 Sex ratios by ethnic groups, c.1860

Age groups	*Bulg-arians*	*Turks*	*Mold-avians*	*Cossacks*	*Circ-assians*	*Crimean immigrants*	*Total*
0– 4	113.5	90.4	141.6	157.1	103.4	105.1	105.8
5–14	85	105.3	135.2	50	89.2	139.4	102.3
0–14	94.6	99.3	137.9	89.4	96.5	120.7	103.7
15–49	129.9	98	100	142.8	140	105	112
15–39	141.5	95	107.1	158.8	159	100	115
50+	105.8	120.3	64.2	154.5	144	130	118
total	111	102	106	125	121	116	110

The exact story of the immigration of the Cossacks to Babadag is not known, but the pattern can be inferred from the movement of other Cossack groups to the Ottoman Empire. Thus, at the end of the Crimean War in 1856, soldiers from the second regiment of the Cossacks refused to return to Russia and were permitted to settle in several European provinces (Selânik, Tirhala and Yanya), as well as in Bursa. Most of them being farmers, they soon found employment on the big *çiftliks* (Karpat 1985, 64).

The Babadag Cossacks could have stayed after the previous Russo-Turkish war (1828–29), or they might have fled individually. Others could have been added from the number of those remaining after the Crimean war. In any case, it is no accident that out of the 33 Cossack households, five (15%) consisted only of single men. The extreme preponderance of males in the first age group can be explained by the few cases involved (11 boys and 7 girls aged to 4). However, if the whole 0–14 age group is considered, the discrepancy is compensated for.

The emigration of the Circassians from the Caucasus is a major event in the demographic history of the Ottoman Empire. Although the flow of immi-

grants had started in the early 1850s, and lingered on well into the twentieth century, the peak of the mass migration began in 1862 after the Russian occupation of Circassia and lasted for about three years. It has been estimated that well over half a million people emigrated from Circassia by the mid-1860s. About half of them were settled all over the Danubian *vilâyet*, but the highest concentration was in Dobrudzha, around Babadag, Tulcha, and Kustendzha (Pinson 1972a).

The later immigration of the Circassians is reflected in Table 2.7 by the huge preponderance of males in the groups over age 15. It is only with the settlement of the immigrants that the sex ratio returns to normal again. While the age-specific sex ratio clearly attests to the recent immigration of the Cossacks and the Circassians, such is not the case with the Crimean Tatars. It is true that the mass exodus from the Crimea also occured in the decade after the Crimean War when most of the refugees were settled in Dobrudzha, but there a constant flow of Crimean Tatars to this region had begun already in the 1780s (Pinson 1972b).

Judging from the figures about the Crimean immigrants from Table 2.7, there is a significant majority of adult males only over the age of 50. The sex ratio of the 15–49 age group, however, is normal. This is to be explained either by a remarkably balanced age structure among the immigrants, which is not too plausible,[5] or by the fact that these particular settlers from the Crimea had arrived in previous decades. As far as the explanation for the sex ratio of the 0–14 age group among the Crimean immigrants is concerned, there appears to be no other logical alternative to the underenumeration of girls. Such is obviously the case also with the Moldavian inhabitants of Babadag.

The preponderance of men in the 15–49 age group for the Bulgarians cannot be explained by any of the above mentioned factors. This was an old, settled urban population and migrations cannot account for the drastic disproportion of the sexes. Underenumeration is also excluded judging from the sex ratio for the 0–14 age group which is normal. So are the sex ratios for the Turkish urban inhabitants, some of which occupied quarters in the same town as the Bulgarians. On the other hand, the high sex ratio is clearly not a deviation within the framework of the statistically admissible. This can be established by the χ^2 test, which shows the presence of a considerable deviation, of the order of α=0.04. Figure 2.1 graphically illustrates the phenomenon, by comparing the age pyramids of the Bulgarian and the Turkish urban populations. It can be seen that the male age structure of both ethnic groups follows a normal distribution. Consequently, the higher sex ratio in the Bulgarian case cannot be attributed simply to the presence of single men as a temporary working force in the towns. On the other hand, the dip in the curve of Bulgarian women apparently in their fertile period indicates a high level of maternal mortality, especially when taking into

account the figures only for the 15–39 age interval, which features an even higher sex ratio. This is also illustrated by comparing the proportion of women of childbearing age, as shown on Table 2.8.

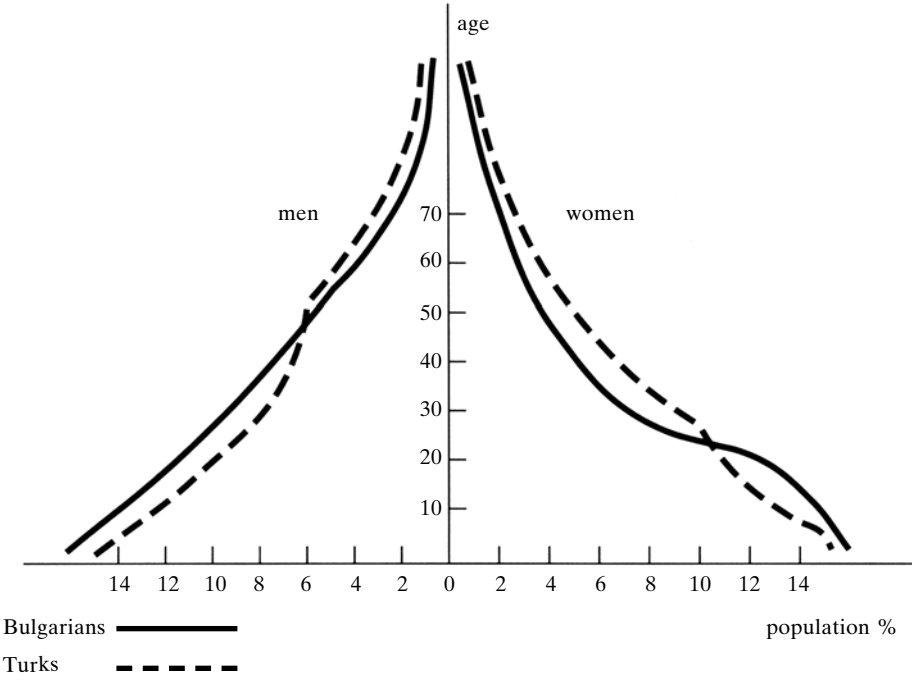


Figure 2.1 Age pyramid of the Bulgarian and Turkish populations

How is the higher mortality among Bulgarian women in their fertile period to be explained? After all, they lived in the same urban or semi-urban milieu as their Muslim counterparts. One possible tentative explanation is the active involvement of Bulgarian women in economic life, both in home industry and in farming, given the semi-agrarian character of the town economies. These phenomena are widely reflected in the documentary sources and the literature of the nineteenth century in both travellers' accounts as well as imaginative writings (Todorova 1985, 311–317). This relative freedom set them apart from the women of the other ethnic communities, and particularly the Muslim urban women, who were confined exclusively to their homes. All this, added to the burdens of childbirth and child-rearing in surroundings practically devoid of effective medical care, can perhaps explain the higher mortality of Bulgarian women.

Although data are available only on the urban population, the situation in the villages does not seem to have been much different. In fact, data on a Serbian

village from the same period can be treated as a possible analogue to the Bulgarian village population. Thus, the proportion of Serbian village women of childbearing age is practically the same as that of the urban Bulgarian women (Wagner 1982, 52).

Table 2.8 Percentage of women aged 15–39 and 15–49, c.1860

	Percentage of women		*Percentage of total population*	
	15–39	*15–49*	*15–39*	*15–49*
Bulgarian	30.5	42.4	14.4	20.1
Turkish	37.8	48.6	18.7	24.1

It is also possible that differences in sexual hygiene or other sanitary practices might have contributed to the differential Turkish and Bulgarian female mortality. It is a fact, for example, that Bulgarian Christian women in the past never wore panties (EIM/BAN 598–II, 103), while their Turkish and Muslim counterparts were clad in *shalvars,* which obviously would protect them from infections. On the other hand, the picture in the villages might be different, although we do not have at our disposal similar data for the rural population. The Turkish peasant woman, unlike her urban counterpart, was taking active part in the field work, so it is possible to tentatively hypothesize that the contrast between Bulgarian and Turkish women would not be so conspicuous or would not exist at all.

The foregoing analysis of a "snapshot" of a segment of Bulgarian society in the 1860s leads to some expected, and a few unexpected results. Predictably, Bulgaria in the 1860s has a population with a progressive age structure, typical for the European pre-industrial societies before the demographic transition, and characterized by a high fertilty and a high mortality rate. With the exception of one single ethnic group, the Cossacks, which displayed characteristics of a stationary population, all other ethnicities conformed to the above pattern. This gives ample grounds to contest the notion of a decline of the Muslim population in the region, which has been in the running in the scholarly discourse, although hardly based on quantitative evidence. Even in the case of the Cossacks the anomaly has been explained due to their being a group of recent male immigrants. Still, it is an incontestable fact that the progressive type of population structure, common to all groups, was more pronounced among the Christian Bulgarians than among the Muslim Turks, both in the urban and rural areas. Given the scanty documentary basis, any attempts at explanation would be specul-

ative. A commonly accepted notion is the intensive development of the Bulgarian community during the nineteenth century, especially after the Tanzimat (1839 ff.), and the great progress in the economic, social and cultural fields. Yet, any direct correlation between economic progress and population growth has proven to be more than problematic.

On the other hand, without some additional detailed vital statistics on the Christian and Muslim communities, which do not seem to exist, it is impossible to speculate how far the differences are due to a group-specific rate of fertility or mortality, or to a distinctive marriage pattern. As is shown in the next chapter, there is no significant difference in the marriage patterns based on a confessional basis. However, some data from 1900 attest to a significant differential ethnic mortality rate of the urban population in Bulgaria. Thus, the crude death rate (per thousand) among the Orthodox amounted to 20.94, among Catholics to 18.10, among Protestants to 12.96, among Muslims to 30.16, among Jews to 14.74, and among Armenians to 21.66. More interesting and illustrative, however, is the breakdown of the Orthodox and the Muslim denominations into separate ethnicities. Among the Orthodox, the Bulgarians had a total crude mortality rate of 20.66, the Greeks 23.30, and the Romanians 27.35. However, the Turks, who constituted the largest community among the Muslims, had a death rate lower than the average: 28.64. The overall high Muslim mortality rate was primarily due to the extremely elevated rates of the Tatar and Gypsy populations (respectively, 37.72 and 36.66) (*Statistika* 1906, XIV–XV).

The preponderance of men in the Balkans, a unique phenomenon in the European context, which for some countries of the region continued well into the twentieth century, has not passed unnoticed by scholars in the field. What has been argued and emphasized here is that there are a whole set of demographic and, more broadly, social explanations to counterbalance the widely held notion that due to the imperfect statictics we are probably facing an artifact.

The really interesting and unexpected result of the analysis is the observed substantial difference between the age pyramids of urban Bulgarian and Turkish women, attesting to a higher mortality for Bulgarian women in their fertile period. Technical flaws in the source material having been ruled out and an explanation has been attempted based on social and cultural considerations. The expected higher mortality among women of the childbearing age will be further corroborated for a different region, a different time period, and a different confessional group by the analysis of source material pertaining to vital events, which is the object of study in the next three chapters.

Notes

1 At least not in the archives of the Central Statistical Office, where the materials should be kept. Hope remains that part of the preliminary statistics might still be preserved in some of the local archives, although, according to the 1897 law, all local census material had to be sent to Sofia to be centrally processed. Moreover, the law envisaged that after the final results had been reached, the preliminary statistics should be destroyed. This was meant to assure the population that the information would be used strictly for statistical purposes. On the other hand, the fate of the late nineteenth century census materials is still unknown.

2 For a discussion of the term and its meanings, see Chapter VI.

3 Sundbärg 1907, 4–5 suggested the following distribution of age-groups for the three population types, progressive: (0–15) 40%, (15–50) 50%, (50+) 10%; stationary: (0–15) 26,5%, (15–50) 50,5%, (50+) 23%; regressive: (0–15) 20%, (15–50) 50%, (50+) 30%.

4 Serelea 1977, 15–16 raises an interesting point, that not only the limited emigration but also the greater mobility of men might contribute to an overestimation of their number. This would come about because of the prolonged period over which a census was taken, ranging from a week to several months. As the usual procedure would be to register all persons in a given settlement, no matter if they were permanent residents or not, there was always the possibility that some men, especially merchants, would be entered twice over the registration period.

5 According to Gozaydin (1948, 84,) the Crimean migration from 1861 to 1864 totalled 227,627, including 126,002 men and 101,605 women.

III
MARRIAGE AND NUPTIALITY

A Bulgarian proverb states: "A man who has not been born shall not die; he who does not marry is not a man" (Marinov 1892b, 5). Like most concise and categorical statements, this one, too, summarizes simply but eloquently the folk outlook on the three main stages of transition in human life: birth, marriage and death. The second element of this triad, the only one that people choose or avoid, was given the same inevitable and obligatory character as the other two biologically determined elements. What demographers had called the "traditional marriage pattern," characterized by early and universal marriage, finds here its psychological motivation and expression.

In Bulgaria, studies on the history of marriage concentrated mostly on its legal aspects and ethnological significance, especially the marriage ceremony (Knyazheski 1847; Marinov 1891–1894; Bobchev 1896; Arnaudov 1931; Andreev 1979; Vakarelski 1977; Georgieva 1971; Georgieva 1980; Genchev, S. 1974; *Etnografiya*, 1980; Ivanova 1984; Ivanova and Markova 1988). As to demographic research, analysis of marriage starts only with the so-called statistical period promulgated in Bulgaria by the first census of 1881.[1]

This chapter is intended to provide an analysis of some demographic aspects of marriage in Bulgaria during the pre-statistical nineteenth century. Studies dealing with the demographic transition treat the problem of the marriage pattern as an important factor in this process. Unlike Western Europe, however, where late marriages and celibacy limited the natural increase in population, the reaction in the Balkans towards the new social, economic and demographic conditions was different; the marked decrease in fertility did not occur at the expense of a change in the marriage pattern. On the contrary, the trend towards early and almost universal marriage has continued into the present.

The search for causes leading to the peculiarities of the marriage pattern in Southeastern Europe has centered on at least two factors. The first to be stressed was the particular family structure, in which economic conditions had no direct influence over nuptiality: "Marriage was not delayed, even under unfavorable economic circumstances, because it entailed little economic responsibility for the individual living in a *zadruga*." Moreover, worsened economic conditions made a man even more dependent on the extended family, hence the "incent-

ives towards early and universal marriage that were fostered by such dependence' (Sklar 1974, 244). Two objections may be raised against this argument: First, the presumption of the universality of the *zadruga* in the Balkans and particularly in Bulgaria, is highly disputable. One could even speak of the myth of the *zadruga*, as is presented later in the present volume (see also Todorova 1990). Second, marriages were not delayed and the region continued to be characterized by early and universal marriages even when the conditions for dependence on kin disappeared, beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth century.

Some scholars emphasize the effect of religion on the marriage pattern. According to these scholars, Catholicism and Protestantism cultivate individualism and foster the nuclear family at the expense of the extended family. On the other hand, Islam sanctions early marriage and high fertility, which strengthen extended kinship ties. Orthodoxy shared the same Christian principles with Catholicism and Protestantism, but because of historical (political and social) reasons, proved more adaptable and tolerant towards the local customary traditions with their extended family ties and high fertility. Keeping in mind that Orthodoxy in Southeastern Europe developed alongside and in immediate contact with Islam, some authors even look for Muslim influence on marriage behavior (Sklar 1974; Fagley 1967).

While one should not dispense of the religious factor, it seems that the danger of overstating it is far greater. In fact, different ethnic, cultural and social features would often shape the influence of religion. Fagley (1967, 83) refers in this connection to two regions with strong Catholic influence but different cultural traditions: Ireland with its late marriages and celibacy, and Latin America with almost universal marriages and consensual unions. For anyone who has studied ethnological material and has not relied solely on legal analysis of the main religious doctrines, it would be clear that the institution of the church in the sphere of marriage constituted a superstructure built upon and in accordance with the millenary basis of traditional structures. At most it could be agreed that the specific historical conditions which determined the greater role of the Catholic church in all spheres of social life also explain its greater influence on the marriage institution in particular.

In contrast, the relatively subordinate role of the Orthodox church *vis à vis* the state from its very beginning, and, later on, its status as an inferior religion in the Muslim Ottoman Empire, deprived it of the exclusive privileges and influence over the social life of the people enjoyed by the Catholic church. This, alongside ensuing ideological differences, in turn explains the greater adaptability of the Orthodox church to popular tradition.

Most findings on marriage and nuptiality in Bulgaria, as well as for different Balkan regions, are of but relative general significance. There is an extraordi-

nary diversity of ethnic, religious and cultural traditions in this relatively small area. There exist different kinds of Christian marriages (Orthodox, Catholic, Armenian and others), as well as Muslim and Jewish marriages. A common characteristic for Bulgaria and for the Balkan region as a whole is the fact that marriage distinctly demonstrates the symbiosis between traditional (often pagan) rituals and later monotheistic (Christian, Muslim, Judaic) accretions.

In the Byzantine Empire, the church wedding was made a legal requirement at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century under Emperor Leo the Philosopher, and was later introduced by the neighboring Christian states, including Bulgaria (Dauvillier and de Clerq 1936; Bobchev 1903; Baldzhiev 1891–1892; Levin 1989). However, the struggle between customary law and the church continued for centuries. As with other provisions of the Byzantine secular and canon law, only certain Byzantine regulations could be introduced easily and literally. This is not difficult to understand in view of the fact that Byzantine rules were created for a more complex, differentiated, and primarily urban and aristocratic society. When applied to the rural society of the South Slavs they encountered the steady resistance of the customary law. This was especially true for marriages with their very important standing in social life (Bobchev 1910, 519).

Unlike in other parts of Europe, where the church succeeded in acquiring the central role in the marriage ceremony, the church ritual in Bulgaria was only one short element of the traditional wedding, both Orthodox and Catholic. It certainly was not considered the most important part of the wedding rituals. It will suffice to emphasize one feature: for the church the marriage had been duly consecrated after the wedding ceremony at the church. For the conjugal pair, however, the wedding comprised an obligatory complex of rituals (lasting up to seven days), of which the consummation of the marriage was the most important one (Arnaudov 1931, 9). The whole ritual process culminated in this particular stage; in fact, its successful outcome constituted the goal and significance of the whole process (Ivanova and Markova 1988, 151). Compared to this complex of rituals, the church wedding took up only a limited and marginal part.

As far as the ethnic characteristics are concerned, the picture in Bulgaria was even more colorful. Major ethnic groups of Turks, Greeks, Gypsies, Armenians, Tatars, Circassians, and Jews lived alongside with the prevailing Bulgarian population. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the different ethnic groups could belong to a variety of religions, for example, the Bulgarians would be Orthodox, Muslim, Catholic; while the Gypsies might be Christian and Muslim, etc. Here an attempt will be made to elucidate this problem as far as the sources permit.

Part of the data comes from the detailed preliminary registers of three towns in Central and Northeastern Bulgaria–Tîrnovo, Silistra and Hadzhioglu Pazar-

dzhik (today Dobrich) (CMNL/OD: TL 15/5; SI 30/4; f.179, a.e. 3369; BD 9/5). Among the documentation of the Bulgarian Catholics are found four registers of the *Libri matrimoniarum* type for the Ottoman, i.e. pre-1878 period. These are two *Libri matrimoniarum* from the village of Seldzhikovo (today Kaloyanovo) for the periods 1818–1838 and 1840–1897, respectively; one *Liber matrimoniarum* from the village of Duvanli (today under the same name) from 1848 to 1897; and one *Liber matrimoniarum* from the village of Baltadzhi (today the Sekirovo quarter of the town of Rakovski, Plovdiv district) for the time period (1834–1886).[2] As these registers do not list the ages of the newly wed, but only enter their names, alongside the names of the witnesses, they have to be used in conjunction with other parish registers, if such are available. Using the family reconstitution method, families have been reconstructed for the village of Sekirovo from the aforementioned wedding register together with the *Liber mortuorum* (1840–1872), *Liber baptizatorum* (1833–1876), and the *Liber confirmatorum* (1840–1926).

Ethnological material from the Archives of the Ethnographical Institute and the Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (EIM/BAN) also has been used. These are chiefly the questionnaires on weddings compiled primarily for the study of the wedding ceremony.

The source material is diverse, but from a statistical point of view it represents only a few geographical regions. The Ottoman material can be treated as a cluster sample of a general totality, in this case the population of the central and eastern areas of the Danube province. The comparison of the parameters obtained from the different registers is possible as all data refer to a region which was uniform in its socio-economic development. However, many of the inferences and generalizations made on the basis of these documents are valid only for the urban population in a strictly defined region.

The analysis of the population of a village in South Bulgaria permits certain conclusions for the rural sector as well. A number of aspects of the marriage behavior could be considered representative not merely of the region's Catholic population, but also for members of other religious groups.

The Marriage Ritual and Seasonal Patterns of Marriage

As already mentioned, the traditional Bulgarian marriage represented a whole process. The typical ceremony for Orthodox as well as for Catholics comprised two distinct stages: the first had a legal character and regulated the material conditions for the marriage; and the second gave the social sanction for the concluded contract (Vakarelski 1977, 475). These two stages represented the engage-

ment and the wedding. The interval between them depended upon the local tradition, and ranged from several days to several months, and in some places to three years (Ivanova 1984, 39).[3]

Also highly ritualized, the first stage was of less importance than the wedding ceremony, though certainly of major social and economic significance. In fact, it often included negotiations over both the bridewealth and the dowry. In some cases the arrangement was sanctioned by the presence of a priest and the promises were put on paper (EIM/BAN 49–II, 1–9). The groom's family paid the *prid, baba haki*, or *agarlik* (the parental fee) consisting of money or clothing, as a compensation to the family of the bride which was loosing one of its working members (*Etnografiya* 1980, 337). The bridewealth would be in the complete control of the bride's father.[4]

In the Muslim *nikâh*, also a form of contract between families, a sum was likewise negotiated to be given to the bride. However, this was completely different from the bridewealth, as it belonged exclusively to the bride, and she received it only if her husband died or left her (EIM/BAN 370–II, 12).

At the engagement ceremony, which as a rule would take place on a Sunday, the bride would also receive personal presents (most often jewelry or gold coins), which were considered her personal property. Sometimes she could be given also a piece of real estate (a vineyard or a field), which could not be sold by her husband, or taken back (*Etnografiya* 1980, 337, 339).

The bride would enter the new household with a certain amount of clothing, household goods and, very often, money, cattle and real estate. All this was encompassed in the dowry (*prikya, prid, zestra, veno,* or *cheiz*). The dowry, too, was considered her property and, on her death, would pass to her children. In some regions only female children would inherit the dowry (Vakarelski 1977, 456).

The wedding ritual is described in detail in Bulgarian ethnographic literature. It usually lasted one week (most often from Thursday to Thursday). The wedding phase comprised various magic, symbolic and artistic elements. It began with the sifting of the flour for the wedding breads (*zasevki*), which was followed by invitations to the guests (*kalesvane*). The next ritual was the preparation of the wedding flag (or flags) and, in some regions, of the wedding tree.

The marriage ritual culminated on the day when the bride left her parents' house, the church wedding was performed, the bride was taken to the bridegroom's home and the marriage was consummated. As a rule Christian weddings took place in the church, or where none existed, in the house of the bridegroom. Until the end of the nineteenth century, church weddings in certain villages were looked down upon and even considered sinful (Ivanova 1984, 113). In others, the church wedding was not an obligatory part of the wedding cycle and it could take place after the completion of the ceremonies (Georgieva 1971, 106). Enthnological descriptions and analyses underline the fact that, even in places where

the church ritual was universal and indisputable, it was in conformity with the norms of folk tradition. This adaptability to tradition explains the number of deviations from the Christian canon and gives some ethnologists reason to conclude that in the Bulgarian wedding the smallest part was played by the religious (sacral) elements (Ivanova 1984, 113–116).

Female virginity was a major prerequisite for Christian marriage (Levin 1989, 59–69). The lack of virginity could cause the disruption of a marriage and in many cases was accompanied by a brutal ritual against the "dirty" bride. The public reprisal was sanctioned by the deeply rooted belief that if a bride was not chaste, and this was not disclosed, there would be a pestilence among the cattle of the whole community (Gehchev S. 1985, 184–185). Although in theory such a bride would be returned to her parents' house, the problem was usually settled when the father of the bride made a large, additional payment in compensation for the harm (EIM/BAN 163–II, 5; Ivanova and Markova 1988, 151–152; Genchev S. 1985, 184–185). In some ethnographic regions of Bulgaria the customs around virginity were preserved until the 1930s (Genchev S. 1974, 285). Still, even to this general honoring of virginity all over the country there were some exceptions. Thus, in some villages around Belogradchik (Northwest Bulgaria) and Prilep (Macedonia), premarital sexual relations were tolerated, and virginity was not an obligatory precondition for marriage (Volkov 1892, 240–241).

After the consummation a few other rituals took place during the following one to three days, sometimes up to a week, whose purpose was to unite the bride with the new family. Some authors distinguish these rituals as a distinct third stage of the wedding ceremony. Georgieva (1971, 104–107), who finds the closest parallels with the wedding customs of the other South Slavs and the Ukrainians, classifies the main phases of the marriage among the Bulgarians as follows:

A. Engagement (*godezh, glavezh, tîkmezh, uglava, menezh*): major and minor.

B. Wedding (*svatba*): invitations (*kalesvane*); *zasevki*; combing of the bride & shaving of the bridegroom; parting eve for the bridegroom (rarely preserved for the bride); departing for the bride's home; meeting the wedding guests at the bride's home; veiling the bride; sending off the bride; meeting at the new home; consummation; unveiling on the next day; taking the bride to the fountain for water.

C. Post-wedding cycle: mutual visits.

The Muslim wedding (*nikâh*) was not considered a sacrament (Gibbs and Kramers 1953, 447–449). The wedding ceremony was conducted by the *hoca* (*khodja*: a Muslim religious figure) either in the house of the bridegroom or, sometimes in the house of the bride. It was not accompanied by any rituals. The conjugal pair might be, but was not obliged to be, present. Attendance was incumbent only upon the witnesses. The Muslim marriage very clearly demonstrated the complete separation of the wedding from the marriage *per se* which, like the Christian one, represented a whole complex of rituals. The *nikâh*, for example,

could be concluded some time before the marriage ceremony and in this case the young pair lived separately in their respective parents' homes. In case the wedding coincided with the marriage ceremony it was concluded on the last day of the ceremony—Thursday. As with the Christian marriages, the religious ceremony was not able to replace the traditional rituals, most important of which was the consummation of the marriage; only after that was the marriage considered legal (Vasileva 1969, 164–165, 182).

Although held in high esteem, prenuptial virginity was not of cardinal importance, as it was in Christian marriages. The whole cycle of rituals connected with the establishment and the celebration of virginity was practically lacking. The whole series of sanctions punishing the "dirty" bride was also nonexistent. Only in exceptional cases was a non-virgin returned to her family. This probably reflected the influence of the surrounding Bulgarian population in these mixed regions (Vasileva 1969, 184).

The time of year for marriages was regulated by two main factors: the economic and particularly agricultural activities, which were directly influenced by nature; and the regulative role of the church which forbade certain days and periods for the marriage ceremony.

Forbidden for the Orthodox were Lent, the fasts for the Virgin Mary, the week between Shrove Tuesday and the Introduction of the Virgin Mary (13–21 November), the days between St. Ignatius's Day and the Epiphany (20 December–6 January), and several specific days and feasts. But, with the exception of Lent, these prohibitions could be lifted by special permission of the church authorities.

The wedding season usually fell between the autumn harvest and the beginning of the spring planting (Ivanova 1984, 29). Only rarely did weddings take place in the spring. Marriages were permitted at the very latest immediately before harvest time (EIM/BAN 649–II, 228, 258). The economic motivation for these restrictions is quite clear and was not denied by the peasants. According to the ethnological questionnaires from the area of Yakata (Stanke Dimitrov region, Western Bulgaria) parents would never permit their daughters to marry in the spring because "they had fed her all winter," and would not like to loose her as a labor force in the summer. Besides, by autumn they had accumulated enough means to pay for the wedding (EIM/BAN 995, 62).

In the framework of this general rule, which was determined by the agrarian character of the Bulgarian economy, there existed certain variations dependent on tradition and religion. For example, among the Orthodox of Northeastern Bulgaria the wedding season lasted from the Mounting of the Holy Cross, 14 September until the beginning of Lent, except for the period between Christmas and Epiphany, when, according to folk beliefs, the water was not yet consecrated (EIM/BAN 649–II, 258). Autumn was the preferred season in Southern and

Southwestern Bulgaria. In some of the villages of Southwestern Bulgaria marriages contracted in leap years were considered unfortunate (EIM/BAN 766–II, 6). In other regions the marriage cycle began after St. Demetrius Day (26 October) (EIM/BAN 649–II, 228; EIM/BAN 995, 62). In Thrace most of the marriages were contracted in July and January, between the fasts for St. Peter and the Virgin Mary, between the Dormition of the Virgin (15 August) and the Introduction of the Virgin (13 November) and between Epiphany and Lent, when most of the population was at home (Arnaudov 1931, 37). In some villages of the Gabrovo region the poor would prefer to marry during the Christmas fast in spite of the church prohibition because this meant lesser costs for the wedding (EIM/BAN 884–II, 33; EIM/BAN 883–II, 28).

In other regions even the day of the marriage was predetermined. In some villages in the area of Debar (Macedonia), this was the day of St. Peter (29 June) or of the Holy Prophet Elias (20 July) (Ivanova 1984, 29). In the region of Demir Hissar (Macedonia), marriages were contracted as a rule between 15 October and 10 November. Only widowers and the very poor were permitted to celebrate their weddings outside this period (Arnaudov 1931, 9). It is worth noting that the aforementioned two regions maintained migrating labor forces, and the marriage season corresponded to the period when the working male population was coming home. Judging from the entire existing literature as well as from the Archive of the EIM/BAN, the wedding ceremony was always concluded on Sundays.

The Bulgarian Catholic population observed the prohibitions on days for wedding ceremonies sanctioned by the Council of Trent (1545–1563): Lent and Advent (Hefele, Lecleq and Michel 1938, 565). Conforming to these restrictions, the Bulgarian Catholics followed the general model typical for an agrarian population. For example, in the village of Geren (today Belozem, Plovdiv region) February was the preferred month, as well as the time after St. John the Baptist (7 January) (EIM/BAN 869–II, 82).

The monthly distribution of weddings is illustrated in Table 3.1, employing the data from the marriage register of the village of Baltadzhi for the period 1834–1886.

Table 3.1 Monthly distribution of marriages (village of Baltadzhi, 1834–1886)

January	549	May	14	September	11
February	97	June	11	October	7
March	1	July	11	November	15
April	11	Augus	8	December	15
				unknown	7
				total	757

The preference for January, and less so for February, is quite obvious. It is evident that, at least for the two main fasting periods (Lent and Advent), the prohibitions were strictly observed.

A comparison with France during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries shows that the greatest number of marriages there also took place during the winter months, with a heavy preference for January, February and November (Segalen 1986, 111–112; Sardon 1978, 107). As a whole, during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the French priests observed a far more strict normative code, than the one prescribed by the Council of Trent (Bardet and Gouesse 1978, 72–74). In some regions of Catholic Europe specific months were avoided for weddings: May and December in Belgium, November and December in Poland, but on the whole Lent and Advent were strictly observed (Hélin 1978, 161–166).

The Bulgarian Catholics exhibited certain differences in regard to their choice of the wedding day. In the village of Duvanli (Plovdiv region) only engagements would be held on Sundays. Marriage ceremonies would begin on Saturdays after the obligatory fasting of Friday. Mondays would witness the marriage arrangements and Tuesdays the church wedding. In case the two sides were in a hurry after the Sunday engagement, the wedding could take place already on the following Tuesday (EIM/BAN 869–II, 173).

The marriage register of the village of Baltadzhi lists the weddings according to the days of the week, as shown in Table 3.2. The preference for Tuesday as a wedding day—as illustrated schematically in Figure 3.1—is in conformity with the data from several French settlements and regions during the *ancien régime* (Rouen, Fontainebleau, Blayais, Vexin, Argenteuil), where most of the weddings fall on Tuesdays, but also on Mondays (Bardet and Gouesse 1978, 71; Bourdelais and Raulot 1978, 89–92; Segalen 1986, 112; Sardon 1978, 109). No doubt the Bulgarian Christian marriage (Orthodox as well as Catholic), with its prohibited days and periods and the regulated time for its conclusion became an inseparable component of the folk calendar.

Table 3.2 Weddings according to the day of the week (village of Baltadzhi, 1834–1886)

Monday	76	(10%)	Friday	31	(4,1%)
Tuesday	453	(60%)	Saturday	37	(4,9%)
Wednesday	80	(10,5%)	Sunday	21	(2,8%)
Thursday	51	(6,7%)	unknown	8	(1%)
			total	757	(100%)

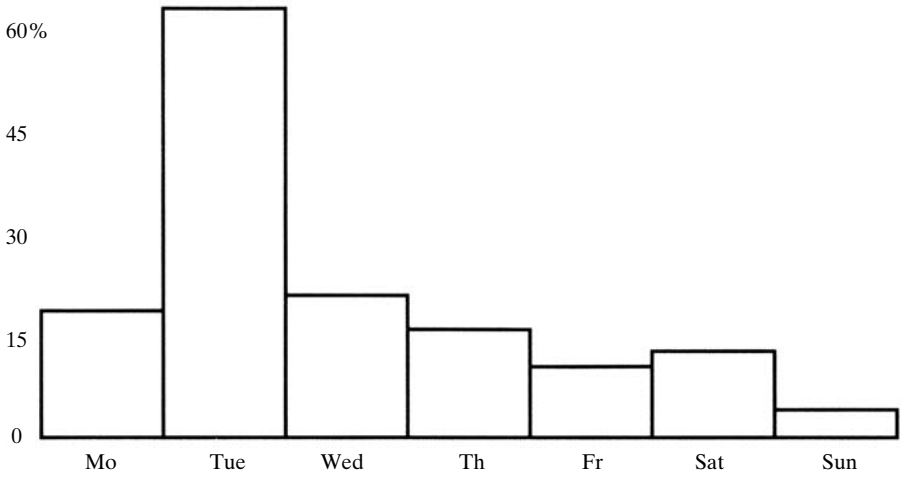


Figure 3.1 Proportions of weddings according to the day of the week (village of Baltadzhi, 1834–1886)

Islam did not envisage any specific prohibited days or periods, the main reason being the non-sacral character of the Muslim wedding. As, according to doctrine, the wedding ceremony was not associated with eating and drinking, it was possible to conclude a marriage during the fast. The marriage was consummated usually on the so-called Monday Eve and especially on Friday Eve. Accordingly, weddings usually began on Mondays and reached their climax on Thursday night.

Enthnological observations on the marriage rituals of the Rhodope Bulgarians who were Orthodox and Muslim, stress the existence of common, pre-Christian, pagan traditions. The main difference concerned the religious ritual, but others appeared determined also by the religious affiliation. Christian and some Muslim marriages began on Thursdays with a Sunday climax. As a rule, however, the Bulgarian Muslim marriage ritual began on Wednesday, Friday or Monday. Both religious groups considered Tuesday and Saturday to be unclean days and marriage ceremonies never started on these days (EIM/BAN 370–II, 17).

Age at marriage

Two sets of quantitative data were used for determining the age at first marriage (all marriages not explicitly defined as second or later being accepted as first). The first set, from the Ottoman registers of the 1860s, describes the population of several towns in Northeastern Bulgaria. Table 3.3 sums up the data on the age at first marriage for men and women in the different towns according to nation-

ality. The data include the ages of 304 men and 199 women. In calculating the average age, the very exceptional late or extremely early marriages (i.e. under 10 years or over 50 for women and under 15 and over 50 for men) were not taken into account. For all men—Turks and Bulgarians—only four late marriages (1.3%) were recorded. Most probably these were by widowers, though this was not explicitly stated. For the women, three late marriages and only one early marriage were registered; the latter of a seven year old Jewish girl from Hadzhioglu Pazardzhik.

As Table 3.3 shows, there was practically no difference in the average ages between the men and women of the two nationalities (Turkish and Bulgarian). The medians and the modes, with the exception of the Turkish males of Hadzhioglu Pazardzhik, are virtually the same.

Table 3.3 Age at first marriage, 1860s

	Tîrnovo Bulgarians		*H. Pazardzhik Bulgarians*		*Silistra Turks*		*H.Pazardzhik Turks*	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Average age	29.6	18.2	28.8	18.4	27.5	18.5	29.8	19.5
Median	29	18	28	18	25	17	28	19
Mode	30	18	28	18	25	15/16	22	20

For the sake of comparison it could be pointed out that in the first decade of the twentieth century the average age of women at first marriage was 20.9 in Bulgaria and below 19 in Serbia (Tekshe 1979, 111). The age of men at first marriage varied between 15 and 46 years (with the exception of the four above-mentioned late marriages at 52, 62, 76 and 78 noted above). For the Bulgarian males, the age at first marriage ranged from 20 to 48 years. While there was not a single Bulgarian male married under 20 years, ten Turkish males (5%) married before age 20.

For both Bulgarian and Turkish women, the marriage age began at 10 and reached 40 (over that age only 4 marriages were entered—at ages 45, 59, 61 and 63 and these were probably cases of widowhood). Very early marriage was a characteristic phenomenon for women. Of a total of 274 women of the three towns listed on Table 3.1, 43 married under the age of 15 (15.7%). There is no difference in the prevalence of the early marriage between Muslim and Christian women.

The second set of data refers to the rural population of the Bulgarian Catholic village of Baltadzhi. The marriage register for the period of 1834 to 1886 does not disclose marriage ages, but it was possible to determine these data for over 200 persons through the family reconstitution method.

For men the average age at first marriage was 20.1, the median and the mode both being 20. The comparable figures for women are 18.8, 19, and 20. The age of men at first marriage varied between 15 and 27 years, and for women between 11 and 28 years. The only marriage at 11 was that of Anna Tomova Gospodarska to Jacob Antonov on 29 January 1850. She died on 21 May 1865 at the age of 27 after having given birth to at least six children, of whom one died as an infant and another at the age of one-and-a-half years. Women usually married at the age of 17, 18, and 19 (70% of all cases). The distribution among the males was more broad though they, too, clustered around the ages of 19, 20 and 21 (53%). Data extracted from the ethnological questionnaires from all regions of the country concur that the usual marriage age for women was 17–20, and for men 1 to 3 years more.

In the Pirin region, women would marry usually between the ages of 16 and 22, and men between 18 and 25. However, in the case of the poorest stratum of the population, farm servants, the marriage age for men would rise to 25–30 (Georgieva 1980, 390). For the males in the Strandza region, there was also a specific occupationally determined marriage age. The lowest was that of the agricultural laborers (20–25), followed by shepherds (22–26), and craftsmen (25 and over) (Boneva 1991). Among Bulgaria's Muslim population (the *pomaks*), women married at a slightly lower age (14–20), although men tended to get married at about the same time in their lives (18–22) as their non-Muslim counterparts (Shishkov 1936). Girls over 22 were considered over-age in almost all ethnographical regions. In some parts of the country, even the 20-year olds were thought of as "overripe" (EIM/BAN 649–II, 131). An exception from this general rule was found in certain villages in Southwestern Bulgaria, where the informants insisted that the marriage age for women ranged from 25 to 30 and that only after 30 women were considered "old maids" (EIM/BAN 766–II, 33). A detailed study of the economic activities of all settlements where this type of marriage behavior was registered probably would reveal that it was connected with the activities of a not overwhelmingly rural population, which included craftsmen and outgoing or mobile agricultural labor.

The above mentioned analysis explains the traditional view on the family status of the Bulgarian male, at least until the beginning of the twentieth century: at the age of 20–25 father of several children, at 30–35 a father-in-law and possible grandfather, and by 50 a great-grandfather (Georgiev 1979, 52).

Until the formation of the modern Bulgarian state in 1878, the marriage age was regulated solely by customary law, the basic requirement being the coming of age (12 years for a girl and 14 for a boy). However this minimal boundary coincided with the actual marriage only as an exception. It is clear from our data that women, both in towns and in villages, married a few years after puberty (Georgiev 1979, 52).

The comparison of the marriage ages for first marriages in Bulgaria with Western Europe during the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries, (England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway) (Gaskin 1978, 48) demonstrates the difference between the two regions' marriage patterns. Hajnal, who introduced the notion of the "European marriage pattern" as characterized by late marriages and a significant proportion of celibacy, marked also the boundaries between the "European" and the "traditional" or "non-European" marriage pattern (Hajnal 1965, 101–143). In the former, the age at first marriage for women was higher than 24 years and in the latter lower than 21 years. Data on Western Europe suggest that only the marriage behavior of the French aristocracy during the *ancien régime* corresponded to the traditional pattern, while that of the Geneva bourgeoisie and the dominant European families was only close to it (Gaskin 1978, 34–35).

More interesting may be the comparison with Central Europe, where data from Hungary and Slovakia in the eighteenth and nineteenth century show large proportions of the age group 20–29 was married and the practical universality of marriage. For example, in the Slovak settlement of Brezno between 1787–1869 and the Hungarian village Besence between 1787–1895, 500 out of 1000 females in the age group 15–19 were married, and the proportions were similar for men in the age group 20–24. In seven Hungarian settlements, in the course of three decades (1790–1833), the average age at first marriage for females varied between 18.4 and 22.1, figures that altogether agree with the Bulgarian data from the period (Horská 1994; Andorka 1994; Andorka and Balázs-Kovács 1986; Faragó 1986; Melegh 1994, all cited in Cerman 2001, 297–298).

Table 3.4 Proportion of never married, by percentages
(Dashes indicate an average of data)

	Men				*Women*			
Country	*15–19*	*20–24*	*25–29*	*45–49*	*15–19*	*20–24*	*25–29*	*45–49*
Three towns in the Danube province in the 1860s	100	78	59	6	65	4	2	3*
Bulgaria	—	58	23	3	—	24	3	1
England, 1839–79 aristocracy	100	—	—	20	80	—	—	22
France, 1900	—	90	48	11	—	58	30	12

Source: Hajnal (1965)

* Actually only one case but the relatively high percentage reflects the smallness of the group.

Table 3.4 shows another method of comparing the marriage pattern, by calculating the proportion of people who never married. The differences between the "European" and the "traditional" pattern stand out clearly in the table: the considerably higher age and the considerable part of the population who never married in the European pattern. More interesting, however, is the comparison of the data on Bulgaria itself for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. An analysis reveals that urban and rural women alike were characterized by early marriages and almost complete absence of celibacy. However, a gradual increase in the marriage age by the beginning of the twentieth century is noticeable. Although for 1900 no data on the 15–19 age group are available, those concerning the 20–24 age group support this trend. The regulation of the marriage age by law played an essential role in this trend after 1878. In 1884 the permissible age for marrying was 17 for women and 19 for men; it rose in 1897 to 18 for women and 20 for men (Georgiev 1979, 52).

For men, there was a marked difference between the average age at marriage of the urban population of the Danube province (28.9) and the rural population of the village in the Plovdiv region (20.1). The urban marriage pattern of the 1860s, with its very late marriages, came fairly close to the "European" pattern. However, unlike in Western Europe, the proportion of "bachelors" in the group of 45–49 years was not so considerable, which reflects the large-scale trend of entry into marital relations, and the consequent absence of celibacy in this region. The essential difference between the data for the 1860s and for 1900 (only four decades) was due to the fact that the former data covered the urban population only. Georgiev's observation that, in the 1880s and 1890s, in the big towns the marriage age rose and that the "bachelor of long standing" was a frequent phenomenon (1979, 53), should be understood in the sense that it was not a change in the marriage age after 1878, the phenomenon registered was also typical of the towns in the preceding decades. In fact, what we observe here is a replica of the "Mediterranean pattern" (Laslett 1983, 526–527) as illustrated by the data on Tuscan cities. There, men married about the age of 28, while women would be 19 years old. In the countryside, however, the male age at first marriage fell to an average of 23.8 (Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber 1985, 205–206, 220–222).

A related issue is the difference in age between spouses. In 227 of a total of 233 first marriages in Bulgaria, the husband was older than the wife. In four instances the spouses were of the same age, and only in two cases was the wife the older partner. In 87 marriages (37.7%) the difference between the ages of husband and wife was less than 10 years and in the remaining 146 (62.3%) the husband was more than 10 years older than his wife. There were practically no differences in these age patterns between Muslims and Christians.

For the rural Catholic population the respective data on spousal ages are more limited. With the family reconstitution method the age differences in 39

cases were established (Table 3.5). Despite the small number, they give a markedly different picture from that of the urban population. In eight cases the spouses were of the same age; in 17 the husband was older than the wife; and in 14 the woman was the older partner. One of the cases in which the woman was 11 years older than her husband was the marriage of Joseph Jakov Staniov Lenghergiski to Maria Jovanova Gogiolu, concluded on 31 January 1865. Joseph was apparently an orphan brought up in the Gogiolu family. When he reached 20 years of age he was married to one of the daughters of the family. She was 31, and long past the marriage age according to tradition. Nothing suggests that this might be a second marriage for the woman. It should be noted, however, that in over a half of the similar cases mentioned the difference was only one year. Keeping in mind the inaccuracies in the registration as well as the specific ways some of the ages were reconstituted,[5] it could be assumed that those latter cases would fit in the group of equal ages.

Table 3.5 Age difference between the spouses (Baltadzhi, Plovdiv region)

Equal age: 8 marriages
Men older than their wives: 17 marriages
(age difference: 30, 14, 11, 10, 10, 8, 7, 7, 6, 4, 3, 3, 3, 3, 2, 1, 1)
Women older than their husbands: 14 marriages
(age differences: 11, 11, 3, 3, 3, 2, 2, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1)

For the rural population, the ethnological questionnaires give the impression that the preferred marriage arrangement was for the husband to be 1 to 3 years older than the wife. Still, the data reveal that for the village, older wives were not unusual, whereas for the towns they were an exception.

There is a whole region in Western Bulgaria (the districts of Vidin, Vratsa, Sofia, Pernik and Kiustendil) which is known in the ethnographical literature for marriages in which the woman was the senior partner. Unfortunately, the lack of statistical data prevent the establishment of the relative share of those marriages (Volkov 1894, 485). Some Bulgarian ethnographers connect these marriages with the presence of the *zadruga.* However, this conclusion is reached in a speculative way, based on the fact that the geographical area of this type of marriage to a certain extent coincided with the distribution of the *zadruga.* This view cannot be corroborated in a categorical manner by source material. Some unpublished sources even register the said phenomenon in other geographic regions where the *zadruga* is missing (EIM/BAN 886–II, 33; EIM/BAN 1002, 78).

An interesting and subsequently well-cited occurrence was registered by the anthropologist D. Marinov at the end of the nineteenth century. In the village of

Slavotin (Northwestern Bulgaria) he came across a couple, the bride being about 20–25 and the husband 12–13, i.e., still under the age of puberty. When Marinov asked the father why he had married his son so early, the father answered: "So that there would be somebody to work instead of him." (Marinov 1892b, 8–9). The same case is made for this behavior in other regions in Bulgaria (EIM/BAN 1002, 72, 143). This pattern is encountered also in some Russian peasant communities after the death of the mother. Her young son, still a child, would be married off to an older woman, in order to have someone "light the oven" (Fenomenov 1925, 27). The argument here clearly was economic. In another village from Southwestern Bulgaria, where the general rule was to marry girls of 14–15 to boys of 16–17, this practice was legitimized with the saying: "Where there is more property and less people, they see to it that girls are older than the boys" (EIM/BAN 767–II, 90). It is probable that in the Slavotin case as well as in other similar instances, one deals with early widowed fathers-in-law. These and similar cases confirm the belief that the so-called *snohachestvo*—the marital cohabitation of a father-in-law with his daughter-in-law possibly existed, although to a very limited extent, until the beginning of the twentieth century (Ivanova 1984, 27).

The great difference in favor of the husband was a phenomenon typical of the towns and associated with the specific features of the urban economy. A considerable period was needed for a man to become established, to pass through a number of preparatory stages such as apprentice, journeyman, and to accumulat certain means. The analysis of the professional occupation of the population falls outside the scope of this study. Suffice it to say that almost the entire population in the three towns of the Danube province engaged in handicraft and trade. Only very rarely were persons engaged in farming, and then mainly as hired hands. This pattern continued after 1878, primarily in the commercial and industrial sectors, the administration, and the liberal professions. The late marriages for men in towns are corroborated also by anthropological materials. The informant from the town of Etropole notes that before the wedding the man had to build a new house and in case he did not have enough means the relatives on both sides would help (EIM/BAN 598–II, 93–94).

Remarriage, Cross-Kin Marriages and Other Characteristics

Returning to the urban data of the 1860s with the considerable age difference at marriage in favor of men, it should be noted that such a phenomenon, in a population characterized by high mortality and rising birth rate, leads to a strong reduction of the probability of women to marry. But the fact that practically all women passed through the institution of marriage was due primarily to the inci-

dence of second marriage, defined already in the eighteenth century by Süssmilch as *polygamia successiva* (Süssmilch 1741). The Ottoman registers disclose 41 such cases. The age difference between the spouses is generally much greater than in first marriages and in 40% of the second marriages it was over 20 years in favor of males. Only in one case was the woman older than her husband. Of a total of 41 second marriages, 27 (66%) were second marriages only for men (i.e., between widows and spinsters). Nine were between widowers and widows, and 5 were second only for women. The majority of the widows who constituted a considerable section of the total number of urban women (12.2%) did not marry again, although there were many of them who had entered widowhood very young.

That remarriage was primarily a male phenomenon may also be established in a different way, by calculating the proportion of first marriages in relation to the total number of marriages. Thus for men the proportion of first marriage was 88%, and for women 95% This picture corresponds to the situation in Western Europe, where the proportion of first marriages of women exceeded that of men by 5% to 10%. But the causes were of a different nature. For Western Europe the difference was due above all to the "surplus" of women; in the case of the Bulgarian urban population the principal cause was the great age difference between the spouses.

Finally, it should be noted that among all Muslim families of the towns examined, only one case of polygamy was registered: the household of a butcher in Hadzhioglu Pazardzhik, which consisted of the husband with his two wives. The first marriage was contracted in the year 1268 A.H. (1851/52 A.D.) and remained obviously sterile, and the second marriage took place in 1281 A.H. (1664/65 A.D.), shortly before the drawing up of the register.

Some indirect evidence on urban remarriage can be derived from the *cizye* register of the town of Varna from the middle of the nineteenth century (Todorova 1989, 165–202). The register lists only the male population over 12 years of age, specifying each male's relationship to the head of the household. In some cases, "stepsons," "stepbrothers," and in one case even a "stepbrother-in-law"[6] are indicated. Among the 932 households, 10 contain stepsons, 13 have stepbrothers, and one has the aforementioned stepbrother-in-law. It is clear that, in these instances we are dealing only with second marriages for both partners, while the remarriages of widowers to previously unmarried women remain "hidden." One of the cases is obviously a third marriage for the household head, as both his stepsons have different fathers' names (Todorova 1982, 201).

The incidence of second marriages in the villages was different. Of the total of 757 contracted marriages in the village of Baltadzhi, a total of 84, or 11.1%, were second marriages. This proportion of second marriages corresponds to the data for England and France between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, where remarriages accounted for about 10% of marriages (Holderness 1984, 429).

Of the second marriages, those between widows and widowers totaled 35, i.e. 41.7%, compared to 21.9% of the same type of urban second marriages. In 39 cases only the husband, and in 10 cases only the wife are indicated as widower or widow, respectively. Certainly, lacunae in the registration are quite possible. As the *Liber status animarum* is missing, it is impossible to ascertain the number of widowed men or women who remained unmarried. Still, the documentation leaves the impression that there was a trend for men, as well as for women, not to remain long in the state of widowhood.

The marriage register of Baltadzhi offers an interesting case of consecutive remarriages. Rafael Spas Johciov was married to Teresia Ivanova Lukova on 20 January 1857, a first marriage for both of them. Rafael was indicated as slightly over 15 but Teresia's age was not given and could not be reconstituted. Rafael died on 29 August 1865 at the age of 24, and left behind a pregnant wife with at least two living children (a third had died before). A few days after the death of her husband, Teresia gave birth to a boy named after his dead father. The child died when only a month old. A little over a year after her husband's death, Teresia re-married a widower—Josef Ajanski (4 December 1866). They had two children, one of whom died at the age of one. Most probably Josef Ajanski died in 1870,[7] since on 6 December 1870 Teresia concluded a third marriage. Her new husband, Joan Kokov, was not expressly designated as a widower. The interval between the second and the third marriage was hardly more than six months, as Teresia's last child by Josef Ajanski was born in the spring of 1870.

There was obviously a different set of socio-economic circumstances in the village of Baltadzhi, which accounted for the higher rate of remarriage for both men and women. Clearly, for a peasant household to function efficiently, both male and the female labor were indispensable. Data from other European areas, both Orthodox and Catholic, indicate the same incentive (or pressure) for second and third marriages (Czap 1978, 115; Thomas and Znaniecki 1918–1920, 121; Kochanowicz 1983, 162; Segalen 1986, 32–36; Flandrin 1979, 40–42).

According to tradition, a mourning period of one year for both men and women had to be observed, but this rule apparently was not followed strictly. In some villages, widowers with children were permitted to look for wives after 40 days, 52 days, or 2 to 3 months. In the same villages the mourning periods for the widows were longer—at least six months, but usually a full year (EIM/BAN 767–II, 51, 77, 102). This situation was summed up in one of the interviewee's statement: "Whoever is alone [i.e., a widower], after completing forty [days] for his wife, begins looking out to marry. But if he has a mother, there is somebody to knead [the dough] and look after the children, so he waits for next year" (EIM/BAN 221–II, 27). In the Strandzha region, young widowers remarried as a rule, but almost exclusively to a widow. This norm was based on the belief that in the other world people would join their former spouses. Thus, if a spinster or a bach-

elor took a widowed partner, the previously unmarried partner would be doomed to remain alone after death.

The custom was obviously more tolerant towards marriages between widows and widowers, as the marriage of Michail Georghiov Kokov to Teresia Stoinova Markova of 29 January 1866 shows. The husband's first wife had died months before and had left him with at least three children, whereas Teresia's first husband had died a little over three months before and left her with at least two children. It is most natural that, in the village with its smaller age difference between the husband and wife at their first marriage, the probability for second marriages between widowed partners was great. For example, Georgi Petkov Peiov married Josephina Coroveina Jovanova on 29 November 1868; after her death he married the widow Angela Dalova on 12 May 1879, and, after the latter's death, he married for the third time, to Cecilia Dulapciska, also a widow, on 19 May 1884. The intervals between the marriages could not be established as the dates of the wives' deaths were not specified.

The intervals between the death of the husband or wife and the next marriage was established in 23 cases (for 16 men and 7 women), as shown in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6 Interval between death of spouse and next marriage

For men:	3 months; 3 months; 4 months; 6 months; 8 months; 11 months; 1 year; 1 year; 1 year; 1 year; 1 year and 1 month; 1 year and 2 months; 1 year and 7 months; 1 year and 8 months; 2 years; 6 years.
For women:	3 months; 7 months; 10 months; 1 year; 1 year and 1 month; 1 year and 4 months; 1 year and 4 months.

The data in Table 3.6 suggest that about one half of the second marriages were concluded less than a year after the death of the spouse and the remainder between 1 and 2 years. Only one case was after 6 years.

Another case of remarriage which is worth mentioning because of the fact that it is the only act with a preserved marriage contract (see Appendix IV). This was the second marriage for the woman, and the third marriage for the man. The marriage contract specified the conditions on which the parties entered the marriage, in fact guaranteeing the future of the children of the widow from her first marriage. The man had to move to his wife's household, which was not typical, and was to take care of the children, their grandmother, and their property. The marriage contract also listed the property of the children, and the debts of the widow's household. Insofar as at the moment it is the only document of this kind, it is difficult to judge whether marriage contracts were negotiated and written down routinely.

Only in one region in Bulgaria, the Northwest, which is unique in many respects, were remarriages generally discouraged. A widower in the villages might have to wait ten to fifteen years before being allowed to remarry, and then only to a widow. This was supported by the widespread belief that in the other world everyone would join his or her first spouse, and if a virgin had married a widower she would become the servant of his first wife (Marinov 1982, 477). If, however, the widower had daughters or daughters-in-law who were already married, i.e., had somebody to look after him, the custom prohibited remarriage (Marinov 1982, 480). Likewise, a young and childless widow was supposed to remarry. But if she had children she would become the head of the household until one of her sons reached maturity (Marinov 1914, 155).

The rate of remarriage, and particularly the proportion of widows remarrying, has been used as one of the criteria to distinguish between different European populations. Thus, it has been argued that, whereas in Northern and Western Europe the proportion of remarried widows was respectively high and very high, in Southern and Eastern Europe, on the contrary, it was very low (Laslett 1983, 526). While the categories "high," "very high," "low" and "very low" have not been quantitatively defined, it appears acceptable to describe the Balkan urban pattern in this respect as "very low." However, this is not the case with the rural population, at least not in the above mentioned case, no matter how limited the sample. Given that the village population constituted the vast majority of the Balkan population, one wonders whether it will unequivocally fall under the "very low" (proportion of remarried widows) category. This can be ascertained only when, and if, additional material can be secured to corroborate or dispute the existing one.

Restrictions regarding marriages were based both on canon and customary law. There had been a long debate in the Byzantine church and state as to the acceptability of fourth and even of third marriages. According to the Orthodox canon three (and, later, four) marriages had been permitted but only in cases of widowhood, and with an appropriate penance (Pascu and Pascu 1981, 63–65; Guillard 1947–1948, 9–30; Levin 1989, 105–114). The Roman Catholic church, on its part, and after long deliberations, had accepted multiple remarriage, provided each prior union had been legally dissolved.

The most important restrictions, however, were the different constraints based on consanguinity, affinity, adoption and godparenthood (Levin 1989, 136–159). In the Western church both systems for reckoning degrees of consanguinity, the Roman and the Germanic, were used until the eleventh century, when Alexander II's canon of 1076 formally adopted the Germanic system (Goody 1983, 136–137). This, in fact, meant doubling the range of prohibited degrees, as the seventh degree of the Germanic system corresponded to the thirteenth or fourteenth of the Roman (Flandrin 1979, 25). The Eastern Orthodox church stayed with the

Roman computation. The degrees of consanguinity in the Orthodox Slav (Roman) computation correspond to the number of births between the bride and the groom, i.e., a computation is made by ascending from the base line to the common ancestor, and then descending (Novaković 1907). The canons would either mention the degrees ('knees') or would specify the type of cousins who were prohibited from marrying. According to Roman law, seven degrees of kinship were reckoned for the purposes of inheritance, and this corresponded to the seven degrees of kinship who were prohibited to marry. This meant that marriages between third and fourth cousins (which correspond to the eighth and tenth degrees of the Roman system) were allowed. Second cousins, who correspond to the sixth and seventh degrees, fell under the prohibition (*Etnografiya* 1980, 308).

Practice would vary by region. In some areas, especially the more isolated ones, customary law would impose greater restrictions than the church would (Ivanova and Markova 1988, 140). D. Marinov reports that in some villages of Northwestern Bulgaria, the permission of the church to marry someone closer than the seventh degree was considered sinful. Marriages between relatives would be forbidden altogether, even though they might be related in the fifteenth degree. If such marriages occured, they were considered incestuous, and it was believed that they would end in particularly disastrous consequencies (Marinov 1894, 49).[8] Likewise, the ethnological questionnaires cite interviewees as saying: "Even if they are twenty knees [away], once they are kin, they cannot marry. They will be out of luck, they will get ill, it won't work, because they are of the same blood" (*Etnografiya* 1980, 309).

In other areas, however, the canon law seems to be stricter than the common practice. Such is the case in the Catholic village of Baltadzhi, where dispensations from the fourth and the third degrees of consanguinity or affinity (according to the canonical or Germanic computation) were not uncommon.[9] This meant that the dispensations involved second and third cousins. Thus, according to the marriage register of Baltadzhi, of 760 cases of marriage for the period from 1834 to 1886, 101, or 13.3%, had to obtain dispensations. This is quite natural, given the regime of territorial endogamy at the time.

A comparatively frequent phenomenon, which can be pursued in the parish registers, is the occurrence of cross-kin marriages concluded on the same day. For example, on 11 April 1869, Michail Petrov Dalov was married to Maria Gheorghiova Momina and on the same day Maria's brother Nikola Momin married Michail's sister, Angela Dalova (see Figure 3.2). Marriages on the same day were apparently practiced in order to avoid church and customary law prohibitions on marriages because of affinity.

The motivation was most probably economic. The girl's family was not deprived of labor force, as a new member immediately entered it; nor was it deprived

of material goods as the dowries were mutually compensating. According to the ethnological data, some families with neighboring fields sought connections by marriage in order to help each other in the hard agricultural work (EIM/BAN 884–II, 32; EIM/BAN 887–II, 29).

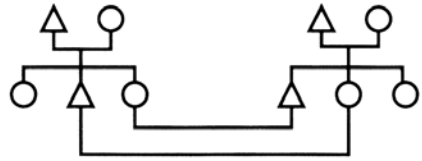


Figure 3.2

Motivated by different reasons, but also fairly frequent, were marriages of several men and women of two different families. For example, three cousins from the Peiov family married three sisters from the Ginciov family. The same tradition was followed by the men of the Manavski family and the women of the Doiov family, the Plackov and the Braov families, the Buduski and the Totov families, the Izefkov and the Lessov families, and others. Grigorius Peciov, wed in 1839 to Joanna Ivan Gradulova, married after her death in 1841 her sister Anna. It is impossible, at this stage of research, to ascertain whether this was a phenomenon typical only for the Bulgarian Catholics. In many Orthodox regions of the country, according to the ethnological material, the prohibitions because of affinity additionally imposed strict bans on marriages between two sisters and two brothers (EIM/BAN 490–II, 11). Interestingly, in other regions, the customary law would permit two sisters to marry two cousins, but two male cousins would be prevented from marrying two female cousins (EIM/BAN 995, 69). Still, as can be seen from the Ottoman *cizye* register of Varna, these prohibitions were not strictly followed in all regions. One case is known of the cohabitation of two brothers with their two-brothers-in-law, who were themselves siblings (Todorova, 1982: household # 218 of the townquarter Varogly; see Figure 3.3.).

Until the first decades of the twentieth century, the rural population was characterized by a fairly strict territorial endogamy. This can be demonstared by the marriage register of the village of Baltadzhi, where most marriages were concluded inside the village, and the rest with a marriage partner from two nearby Catholic villages, Kalachli and Alifakovo. These three villages today form the town of Rakovski.

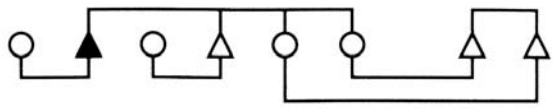


Figure 3.3

Territorial endogamy was also made apparent by the enthnological questionnaires. Until fairly recently, people would marry inside their settlements and when they married outside, there were one or two settlements they traditionally preferred (EIM/BAN 766–II, 33, 51; EIM/BAN 767–II, 1, 35, 78; EIM/BAN 768–II, 1). Territorial endogamy was also the predominant pattern for traditional marriages among the other South Slavs. Matrimonial endogamy began to disappear by the 1920s. Even before, there were several regions characterized by strict exogamy (some villages in Eastern Serbia, several Montenegrin tribes, and others) (Kashuba 1988, 90–91).

After the formation of the modern Bulgarian state in 1878, territorial endogamy continued to be one of the main factors in the choice of the marriage partner, though it was not observed as strictly (Georgiev 1979, 51). Another important characteristic was the social endogamy, which outlasted territorial endogamy. Because of the fact that the traditional marriage was a kind of contract, the criterion for marriages between people with similar socioeconomic background also was strictly observed. As an old woman stated: "Once upon a time they saw to it that the rich would go to the rich, and the poor to the poor" (EIM/BAN 869–II, 104).

One reaction against similar social limitations found expression in the stealing of the bride with her consent, the so-called *pristavane*; or without her consent, in imitation of ancient custom (Arnaudov 1931, 201–202).

Following is an example illustrating the violation of some of the above—mentioned traditional restrictions,—social endogamy, and the restriction on stealing the bride. The grandmother of Cveta Patkova Danova, from the village of Gramada, Northwestern Bulgaria, was stolen towards the middle of the nineteenth century. She was poor and about 25 years old, whereas the boy was about 15 and from a very rich family. When they married the boy was apparently not yet mature but, as the informant explained, "somebody had to work" (EIM/BAN 490–II, 46–47). On the other hand, this particular case comes from the same region in which marriages of younger boys to older women have been reported (Volkov 1894, 485).

The custom of not marrying before an older sibling was characteristic of the Bulgarian marriage pattern. This tradition prevailed over the entire country, and was known under the name of *koritarstvo*.[10] The same custom existed among the Serbs and the Romanians, and is also encountered in Russia and in France (Volkov 1894, 489). It appears that the custom was observed according to the traditions of a certain region or social stratum. For example, in some regions the marriage of a younger sister before an older brother was accepted. In others, where a younger sibling would marry earlier, this was accompanied by compensating presents (EIM/BAN 885–II, 40). There was a similar ritual in France, where the younger marrying sister would bestow her older unmarried sister with

a white goat (Volkov 1894, 489). In Northwestern Bulgaria, because of the existing practice to marry younger boys to older women, the marriage of a younger brother before an older sister was accepted (Ivanova 1984, 27–28).

The lacunae in the parish registers and the limited period they cover do not permit one to establish the extent to which this probably pre-Christian custom was observed. However, there is evidence that by the middle of the nineteenth century the peasants in some Northern Bulgarian Catholic villages stopped all church weddings for several years, protesting that the Catholic priests did not want to respect this ancient rule (Miletich 1903, 116).

This study does not aim at an exhaustive analysis of all problems related to marriage and nuptiality. Thus, divorce and dowries have hardly been discussed at all. Analysis of such questions requires a number of sources which do not lend themselves to statistical interpretation.

The wide local differences in marriage behavior, documented in the sources, make generalizations difficult. Still, these sources suggest a few common features which could be summarized in a distinctive marriage pattern. It is difficult at this stage of research to define and classify the factors influencing the marriage pattern. They are various and manifold: economy, social structure, inheritance patterns[11] historical tradition and religious doctrines.

As far as the seasonal patterns are concerned, the agricultural work which occupied most Bulgarians, regardless of ethnic or religious differences, prove decisive. The seasonal patterns of marriage were destroyed only gradually with the slow changes in the traditional social structure following the urbanization and the industrialization in the twentieth century.

The low marriage age undoubtedly marks the Bulgarian marriage pattern as "traditional," as does the near-universality of wedded life. There were, however, distinct differences between the urban and the rural marriage pattern in Bulgaria, the main being the small age differences between the spouses in the villages. This characteristic, which is also a feature of the so-called European marriage pattern, has also been identified by Peter Czap on the basis of data for the Russian village of Mishino (Czap 1978, 122).

One specific trait of the urban marriage pattern in Bulgaria is the older marriage age of men, which, in many cases, was higher than that for Western Europe. This feature had no demographic consequences, i.e., no effect on fertility, which, on its part, is determined by two factors: the high percentage of married women and their young marriage age.

Another marked characteristic is the widespread occurrence of remarriages. While in the towns second marriages were mostly a prerogative for men, they were typical for both men and women in the villages. This is in contrast to a number of Mediterranean societies, where second marriages for widows were rare and widowhood became even an institutionalized model of behavior (Smith

1981a, 113). Explaining this phenomenon for the Mediterranean, anthropologists emphasize cultural patterns, and stress the requirement of virginity before marriage (Peristiany 1976). Therefore, it is quite interesting to note the relative frequency of second marriages among rural widows in Bulgaria, a country where virginity was given a central and honorable place. Indeed, there were special rituals specifically designated for second marriages. For instance, when a widow married a bachelor she either had no bridal veil or carried one on her shoulder instead of on the head; when two widowed persons married there was no special marriage ceremony, and the evening before the wedding they visited the graves of their former spouses (EIM/BAN 884–II, 42; EIM/BAN 888–II, 36). However, there is no evidence of a social stigma attached to these rituals. As has been argued earlier, economic considerations were predominant for the higher remarriage rate in the villages.

It is tempting to look for a correlation between the type of family and the marriage behavior. However, to insist on a direct connection between complex family households and early marriage is difficult. In Russia, characterized by nearly-universal early marriage, the prevalence of multiple family households is evident: according to data on Mishino for 1814, they comprised 78% of all the households. By 1849 their percentage had dropped only slightly, to 65% (Czap 1978, 118–119).

On the other hand, as shown in Chapter VI, throughout Bulgaria the simple family household was prevalent during the nineteenth century. This fact should not, however, create the misimpression that the newly married couple became immediately independent and separated from their families. It is especially in this case that the ethnological materials prove indispensable. They suggest great geographical variety. As an almost universal rule, after the wedding the young couple would live at least a year or two as part of the family of the husband's father. If there were more married sons in the family, an extended or multiple family would emerge. In some regions extended families were more stable and continuous, in others the phases of their existence were shorter and the simple family household would appear in a year or two after the wedding (Boneva 1986, 60–61).

Certainly, the value system also played an important role. One major difference between the Bulgarian and the Northwest European marriage pattern was the latter's assumption that marriage entailed economic independence (Smith 1981b, 617). The idea of "socially approved minimum living standards for marriage… below which individuals were loath to descend when marrying and forming new households" (Smith 1981b, 619) was missing in Bulgaria and in the Balkans, as in Southern Europe.[12]

Notes

1 For an excellent article on the Balkan marriage pattern and its evolution in the course of the demographic transition see Botev 1990, 107–126. Although based exclusively on twentieth century data for Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia, this study addresses important problems pertinent for the previous period as well.

2 The 1840–1897 register for Kaloyanovo is kept in the village church; the 1818–1838 register for the same village as well as the register for Duvanli are in the City and District Archives of Plovdiv. The parish registers from Baltadzhi which consist of a *Liber matrimoniarum* (1834–1886), a *Liber mortuorum* (1840–1872), and a *Liber confirmatorum* (1840–1926) are part of the collection of the National Historical Museum in Sofia. Being a recent acquisition, they were not yet catalogued in 1992, and I have not checked on their present status.

3 The ethnological sources register one instance of a very prolonged period between the engagement and the wedding in the Bulgarian village Kodzhabunar in the district of Balikesir in Asia Minor. Girls usually married at the age of 20, and men at the age of thirty, but they would be engaged as long as 5 to 7 years (EIM/BAN 830–II, 132–133). Unfortunately, the source does not specify the motives for this behavior.

4 There are indications that the money would be used for the needs of the new family. At least, this was the case after the Balkan wars (1912–1913) in the village of Babuk, Silistra region in Northeast Bulgaria (EIM/BAN 649–II, 133).

5 The reconstitution was made with the help of the *Liber confirmatorum* where only the approximate age is given. The *Liber baptizatorum* is missing.

6 In the original *shurey* is used for "brother-in-law," i.e., the wife's brother.

7 The death of her second husband was not registered in the *Liber mortuorum,* but she was designated as the widow of Joseph Ajanski when she concluded her third marriage.

8 The fifteenth degree, according to the Roman system, means sixth or seventh cousins, and corresponds to the seventh or eighth degree of the German (or canonical) computation.

9 The third and fourth degree, according to the Germanic system, correspond in different kinship configurations, to the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh or eighth degrees of the Roman system.

10 Deriving from the Bulgarian for trough: *korito*. It has been widely accepted that the name comes from the tradition to hide the younger sister under a trough, so that the bridegroom would not see her and prefer her because of her age and beauty. See also Volkov 1894, 488.

11 Discussed in more detail in Chapter VI.

12 As usual, there are exceptions. Field work in a Pirin village attests to the belief that early marriages were permitted for the ones "with goods," while farmhands and servants had to marry later in life (EIM/BAN 766–II, 1).

IV
BIRTH AND FERTILITY

If only a married man was considered a man,[1] only a woman with children was considered a woman. It was widely accepted that by the end of one year after the wedding the wife should be pregnant. If this had not occurred she was to resort to a wise-woman. Infertility was thought in some places to be caused by "stale blood," and the reason for this was held to be that the woman in question had not been properly treated in her youth against infertility. The treatment itself, called *klinene*, consisted in applying a hot little stone to the groin of the little girl. If nothing helped, and the woman was pronounced to be infertile, she was condemned to a life of scorn, and treated as a potential whore. It is true that in other regions the treatment of an "infertile" woman was not so harsh, but folk beliefs nonetheless never attributed infertility to the male (Marinov 1914, 155). Only in the 1930s did villagers begin to accept it as possible that males also could be sterile (EIM/BAN 640–II, 122).

All existing descriptions (from Orthodox as well as from Catholic villages) agree that during delivery the woman was either standing, sitting or squatting. She would give birth to the child over a trough covered with straw, a mat or clothes (EIM/BAN 256–II, 3; 296–II, 6; 220–II, 3; 702–II, 44; 705–II, 32; 869–II, 78).

It was believed in some regions that Tuesday was the worst day for delivery (EIM/BAN 703–II, 54). In another region Friday was added to the Tuesday, and it was believed that children born on these days were usually epileptic and did not last long (EIM/BAN 221–II, 15). In the whole of Northwestern Bulgaria the day and time of year of the birth determined the character and fate of the newborn. Thus winter babies were considered to be healthy, spring babies happy, summer babies rich, and autumn babies satisfied. Children born on Mondays would be good laborers, on Tuesdays unhappy, on Wednesdays courageous, on Thursdays wanderers, on Fridays tough, on Sundays learned, so as to become priests or teachers. Saturday babies were held in special esteem, because they were thought of as rare, and were believed to keep evil spirits and bad diseases out of the house (Marinov 1984, 489; Marinov 1914, 158).

Births, baptisms and their registration

The data at our disposal from the birth register of Baltadzhi (1833–1876) allow us to reconstruct the seasonal pattern of births as seen on Table 4.1.

That so many births occurred in September and October is explained by the fact that most marriages throughout the period were concluded in January (see Table 3.1). The usual and hoped for pattern was getting pregnant immediately after marriage. The winter months were best suited for conceptions, as there was no heavy agricultural work, and people were mostly confined to the house. The number of births in January, February and March, and then again in August, is also considerable. These were babies conceived accordingly in April, May, June and November, when the number of marriages was, in fact, very low. These were apparently conceptions that preceded and followed periods of intensive agricultural work.

Table 4.1 Monthly distribution of births

January	287	May	192	September	356
February	288	June	146	October	405
March	321	July	215	November	236
April	263	August	281	December	217
				total	3207

Conceptions began decreasing in July, and drastically fell in August and September, during the intensive harvest time. Accordingly, there were far fewer births during the months of April, and especially May and June.

The above data point to the conclusion that there must have been some sort of seasonal planning of births, most probably regulated through sexual abstention. However, this should also be substantiated ethnographically. There is one indication that in some regions there were "bad" days for conception. Thus in the village of Hadzhikioy (today Yerusalimovo, Khaskovo district) it was believed that a child conceived in the night before a Wednesday or a Friday might become very learned, but would suffer from frail health and would die soon (EIM/BAN 703–I, 54). Although these days were not strictly taboo, there is every reason to believe that in a traditional culture the couple would practice abstention on those days.

The timing of the baptism of the newborn varied from region to region. The most common practice, reported in the Orthodox villages, and some of the Catholic villages all over the country, was to baptize the child within a week, on the first Sunday following the delivery (EIM/BAN 649–II, 71, 224; 221–II, 9; 869–II, 99, 168; 885–II, 10; 221–II, 9; 869–II, 99, 168; 885–II, 10; 886–II, 9). In some places, the third day after the delivery was preferred except in cases when

the child would obviously die, whereupon it was baptized sooner (EIM/BAN 163–II; 705–II, 202; 649–II, 71). Infants who died before baptism were buried usually in the courtyard, near the fence, or outside the graveyard (EIM/BAN 649–II, 73, 155; 221–II, 16; 885–II, 10; 703–II, 79; 883–II, 20). In Babuk, Silistra district, this practice continued until 1912, after which the regular registration of all live-born infants was introduced (EIM/BAN 649–II, 73). One exception in this respect is the Catholic village of Duvanli where non-baptized infants were also buried in the cemetery (EIM/BAN 869–II, 169). Lastly, in separate villages a delay of a month or forty days was accepted, or sometimes even required (EIM/BAN 703–II, 133; 883–II, 6; 598–I, 131).

It has been already mentioned that the Orthodox church was not obliged to keep special parish registers, and although baptisms would be registered, this was done sporadically and only for local accounting purposes (mostly to keep track of the church revenues). On the other hand, beginning with 1833 a series of *Libri baptizatorum* are available, two of which are used in this study.[2]

Entered in the register were the name of the baptized, the full names of the parents (in the mother's case her maiden name), and the name of the godfather or the godmother. Also entered were the date of baptism, and specified the time between the birth and the baptism. The baptism usually took place on the day of the birth, or the next day. The accompanying specifications in the entries are usually of the type: *hac nocte, hodie, hac mane, heri, heri vespere* (this night, today, this morning, yesterday, last night). Very rarely would the baptism take place two or three days after the birth.

Louis Henry has developed a method for systematically estimating the number of births whose baptisms were never registered because of their early death. This is the group of the so called *ondoyées décédés* comprising those who died less than three days after birth. According to Henry's estimates they amount to about 3% of the registered baptisms in France of the *ancien régime* (Henry 1967; Willigan and Lynch 1982, 68–69).

However, with the explicit mention of the time of baptism in the Bulgarian Catholic sources the percentage of unregistered early deaths should be expected to be negligent or, in any case, much smaller than Henry's 3%. Although some underregistration of neonatal mortality has been established in the next chapter, it is not of a character to shed serious doubts on the quality of the registration.

Another way to check the reliability of the source is the analysis of the sex ratio, presented in Table 4.2. As the table indicates, the correct result should approximate the general 1.05–1.06 sex ratio at birth. Even allowing for some underregistration, one is struck by the "correct" sex ratio at baptism calculated for a period of over 50 years. It is a tribute to the credibility of the source, and specifically to the completeness of the registration of female births (Willigan and Lynch 1982, 66).

Table 4.2 Sex ratio at baptism of the village of Baltadzhi, 1833–1876

Year	*male*	*female*	*sex ratio*	*Year*	*male*	*female*	*sex ratio*
1833	17	11	1.545	1859	39	42	0.928
1834	25	21	1.190	1860	38	44	0.863
1835	21	28	0.750	1861	33	37	0.891
1836	22	29	0.758	1862	44	42	1.047
1837	28	34	0.823	1863	48	39	1.231
1838	31	25	1.240	1864	52	34	1.529
1839	29	33	0.878	1865	49	43	1.139
1840	21	22	0.954	1866	44	38	1.157
1841	29	26	1.115	1867	49	50	0.980
1842	31	26	0.674	1868	55	39	1.410
1843	22	32	0.687	1869	63	43	1.465
1844	38	30	1.266	1870	47	38	1.236
1845	30	35	0.857	1871	44	40	1.100
1846	38	39	1.151	1872	37	46	0.804
1847	27	44	0.613	1873	46	61	0.754
1848	37	35	1.057	1874	44	47	0.936
1849	39	21	1.857	1875	49	42	1.166
1850	20	34	0.588	1876	55	50	1.100
1851	43	22	1.954	1877	58	44	1.318
1852	34	30	1.133	1878	57	44	1.295
1853	37	40	0.925	1879	63	52	1.211
1854	35	41	0.853	1880	59	54	1.092
1855	41	24	1.708	1881	45	50	0.900
1856	34	32	1.708	1882	59	59	1.000
1857	33	39	0.846	1883	80	64	1.250
1858	41	21	1.952				
				total	2059	1936	1.0635

Closely related to baptism were the naming practices of the population. Among the Christians (both Orthodox and Catholic) central to baptism were the godfather and godmother (the so called *kumstvo* institution). Without exception it was for the godparents to determine the name of the child. However, the general rule throughout the country was that first-born children should bear the name of the grandfather or the grandmother on the father's side (EIM/BAN 649–II, 224; 163–II, 6; 221–II, 9; 705–II, 202; 885–II, 10–11; 886–II, 9; 869–II, 168). An exception to that rule is the Northwestern Bulgarian district described by D. Marinov where the influence of the godparents was omnipotent. Very rarely would a child be named after its grandparents; usually names of the godparents' family would be replicated in the family of the godchildren (Marinov 1892b, 503). Beyond that, different local traditions were followed. Thus, in the Silistra district, the godfather would name the first child after the groom's family, the second after the

bride's family, and the third after his own family (EIM/BAN 649–II, 224). The same basic pattern was followed in the Khaskovo district, where the first child received the name of its grandparent on its father's side, the second could be named after any relative on both sides, and only the third child was called after the godparent (EIM/BAN 705–II, 202). In the Gabrovo district a child born on a saint's day was considered "born with its name"; to deprive it of this would enrage the saint. Also, a taboo observed all over the country was not to name a child after a dead relative (EIM/BAN 885–II, 10–11).

A greater margin of freedom existed only among the Muslim Bulgarians. Thus, the *Pomaks* had the following custom: three female relatives each named a spoon and threw it in a bucket with water. The first to fall to the bottom determined the name of the newborn. This was essentially a compromise between the rigidity of tradition and a respect for hazardous fate (Shishkov 1936, 91; Shishkov 1900, 387).

The Catholics, according to the ethnographic accounts, followed the same naming practices as the Orthodox. With the sources at our disposal it is not yet possible to make an elaborate quantitative analysis of the frequency and the priority of different naming rules. However, there are two remarkable characteristics coming out of the *Liber baptizatorum*. The first is the practice of naming a child after its dead sibling. For example, Petrus Sabiov Padiov and Theresia Gherghiova Kissova, married on 19 January 1864, named their third born child Saba, after Petrus's father. Saba, born on 9 November 1871, lived less than a year, and died on 11 October 1872. Very soon Theresia was pregnant again, and on 11 August 1873 she gave birth to the next Saba. Examples like this are so frequent throughout the whole period covered by the registers that one can easily speak of an established custom.

The other characteristic concerns the proper names used in everyday life, and the names in the register. The registration used a variety of established Latin names. In cases of names common to both the Orthodox and the Catholic tradition (like Maria, Nikolaus, Joannes, Gheorgius and Catharina), there were no further complications. Whenever a name unusual in the Bulgarian context was used, however, it would be often (especially in the earlier period) accompanied by its Bulgarian counterpart, which was, in fact, the only one used by the people. It can be hypothesized that the priest carefully selected Latin "versions" to the suggested Bulgarian names which were either literal translations, or phonetically close. Examples of the first variety are Mircio registered as Pacificus, Dobra as Buona, Spas as Salvator, Nedelia as Dominica; of the second, Rad or Racio rendered as Raphael, Stana as Stanislava, Stoian as Stanislav, Pena or Pina as Petronilla, Tsenko as Franciscus, Neda as Agnes, etc. This illustrates the perseverance and vitality of traditional and ethnic names, and of the efforts of the Catholic church to adjust to local traditions.

Measurements of fertility

The first aggregate measures of Bulgarian fertility date from after 1880, and they suggest a crude birth rate of around 40 per thousand for the entire period until 1925 (Naoumov, Stefanov and Sougarev 1974, 11–12). In fact, there was an increase in the fertility rates in the period between 1895 and 1922, with the obvious exception of the war years, when it fell drastically.[3] According to some Bulgarian demographers only after 1925 is the steady reduction of the fertility rate to be observed and, thus, only during the second quarter of the twentieth century can one speak of a fertility transition on the aggregate level when the birth rates fell from 33.1 per thousand in the 1926–1930 period to 16.0 per thousand in the years 1966–1970 (Donkov 1979, 37). At the same time, the breakdown of the statistics from the urban and from the rural areas (which exists only after 1908) suggests that the process had begun in the cities several (at the very least two) decades earlier (Donkov 1979, 38).

However, a recent analysis of age-specific growth rates suggests that the transition to a new reproductive behavior among the rural population may have started as early as the beginning of the twentieth century, and had the characteristics of an intensive process. This transition had been preceded by a "compensatory period" of well-manifested increased fertility between the 1880s and the end of the century. The transition to a fertility decline had begun somewhat earlier among the urban population but was proceeding at a slower pace, and the "compensatory period" was less pronounced than in the villages (Botev 1989).

The data at our disposal from the Catholic parish registers do not permit the measurement of fertility rates. Not only is it impossible to establish age-specific fertility, with the comparatively few cases of reconstituted ages at marriage, but even a crude birth rate cannot be arrived at as, with the absence of *Libri status animarum*, there is no information on population size (not to speak of mid-year population).

The other possible direction which can be taken, and which is possible given the character of the available material, is the analysis of actual reproductive histories. This would permit the establishment of the average family size, the measurement of birth intervals, and a deeper, more detaileded behavioral analysis (Barclay 1958, 180).

A measure which has been increasingly used in the demographic literature is birth spacing:

> Birth interval analysis allows more precision in investigating many fundamental questions; it allows the assessment of the effects of intermediate variables, like contraceptive use and lactation, and the explication of the effects of various socioeconomic variables in terms of intermediate variables (Rindfuss, Palmore and Bumpass 1982, 5).

In order to establish intervals between births, three marriage cohorts were selected, and their reproductive behavior traced throughout their fertile period: the 1844 and 1854 cohorts, each followed up during the course of three decades, and the 1864 cohort, observed until 1884, i.e., over twenty years. This was done with the idea of comparing the reproductive behavior of different generations of women.

The distribution of families according to the number of births by cohort is presented in Table 4.3. This is only the primary representation of the data, illustrating in a most general and crude way the presence of a high fertility regime. As will be elaborated further, only a few of the analyzed couples reached the completed family stage which permits the measurement of the average family size.

For example, among the 13 couples of the 1844 marriage cohort, there were two with no further data besides the entry for their marriage. It is possible that they had moved to another village. In one case, the wife died within eleven months after the wedding, giving birth to her first child, so this is not a case which should be treated as a one parity family. In another two cases the wives died after about twenty years, leaving behind five and six children each, but before having reached the end of their childbearing period. Similar observations can be made on the 9 cases of the 1854 cohort.

Table 4.3 Distribution of families according to the number of births

Marriage cohort	*Number of births*											
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1844	2	1	–	–	2	1	1	1	–	2	1	2
1854	1	2	–	2	1	–	1	–	–	1	1	–
1864	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	1	–	–	–

In the case of the 1864 cohort, all 22 couples have to be treated as incomplete families and their reproductive behavior continues beyond the last date of observation (1884). Of these, at least three which are technically classified as childless have, in fact, moved to adjacent villages, where their reproductive behavior would be reflected in different registers. Of the eight 1, 2 and 3 parity couples, in three cases the wife died very early in the marriage, and in most of the other cases the children are reconstituted from the confirmation register, but have not been entered in the baptism register, which gives credence to the supposition that the number of births reflected in the table is lower than the actual one.

Still, with all these reservations, about half of the couples of the three marriage cohorts had five or more births.

A more reliable measure which would allow the comparison of the marriage cohorts over time is the number of births per women who have had 15 or more

years of first marriage. In this case only births reconstructed from the baptism register and having the exact date of birth were taken into consideration. We have respective data on seven women of the 1844 cohort,three of the 1854 cohort, and six of the 1864 cohort. The average number of births per woman is 6.57 for the first cohort, 5.67 for the second, and 6.00 for the third. Given the small number of cases, probably the only safe conclusion to be made is that there are no discernible differences in the fertility patterns of the separate cohorts.

Of the total of 44 women belonging to the three marriage cohorts (13 from 1844, 9 from 1854, and 22 from 1864), there is exact information on the spacing between wedding and first birth of a child on 30 women (represented in Table 4.4).

Although it is impossible to estimate the correlation between a mother's age and birth of the first child (since in very few cases the mother's age could be reconstituted), it is easy to ascertain the share of women who had their first delivery within 24 months after their wedding, i.e. the share of women who conformed to the rule that a wife should be pregnant by the end of the first married year. These comprised 28 women or 93% of the set for whom information was available. A total of 68% of the latter (19 women) had their first delivery within a year of the wedding.

Table 4.4 Interval between wedding and birth of first child

Months	*Cases*	%
0 – 8*	4	13.3
9 –12	15	50.0
13 –24	9	30.0
25 –36	1	3.3
37 –48	1	3.3

* The births of the 0–8 months group should not be considered illustrations of illegitimacy but rather as premature births as all of them were close to the nine-month term.

Of the 15 couples not included in Table 4.4, only in three instances have there been no children reconstituted to the family. However, in two of the cases the couples obviously moved to other villages, and cannot be traced in the registers at our disposal.

Much more difficult and questionable is the establishment of birthspacing for each consecutive parity. The reconstructed actual reproductive histories can very rarely meet the criteria of completed families, i.e. where the couple is alive and the wife has reached her 49th year, the end of her normal childbearing period. First of all, as already mentioned, only in a few cases is it possible to establish the exact age of the bride at marriage. Even if this circumstance is overlooked, and it is assumed that hypothetically all women in question entered the marriage

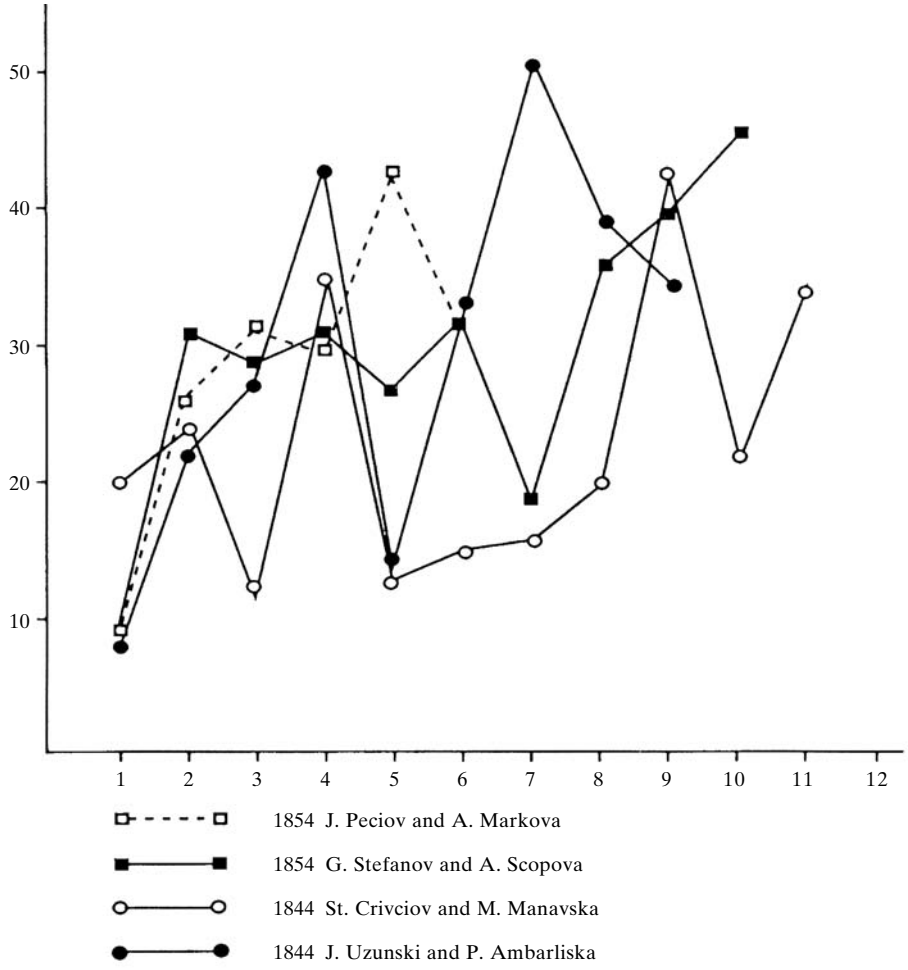


Figure 4.1 Birth intervals in completed families

institution at the average age of 19, still we would have a complete follow-up (of 30 years) only for the 1844 and the 1854 cohorts. Making this allowance, there will still be only 9 couples (6 of the 1844, and 3 of the 1854 cohort) who would meet these criteria.[4]

The total completed family size or the average size of these families, is 9.5 for the 1844 cohort, and 6.0 for the 1854 cohort. The numbers are too small to make any viable conclusions about a trend over a decade. The total average birth interval between marriage and birth of the last child for both marriage cohorts is over 20 years, and the average birth interval is 27 months.[5]

In a fertility regime not depending on contraception or induced abortion,

only the lactation period can to a certain extent and for a certain time serve as a preventive check against the next pregnancy. That this was well known, and a widely used strategy all over the country, is evidenced by the ethnographical material. In different villages of the Silistra district, women breast-fed for a year-and-a-half, two, or even three years, with the explicit motive of avoiding a new pregnancy (EIM/BAN 649–II, 12, 44, 73, 257). The same is reported for villages in the Lovech, Plovdiv and Khaskovo district (EIM/BAN 220–II, 5–6; 869–II, 198), where a case of seven years of breast-feeding was mentioned (703–I, 53).

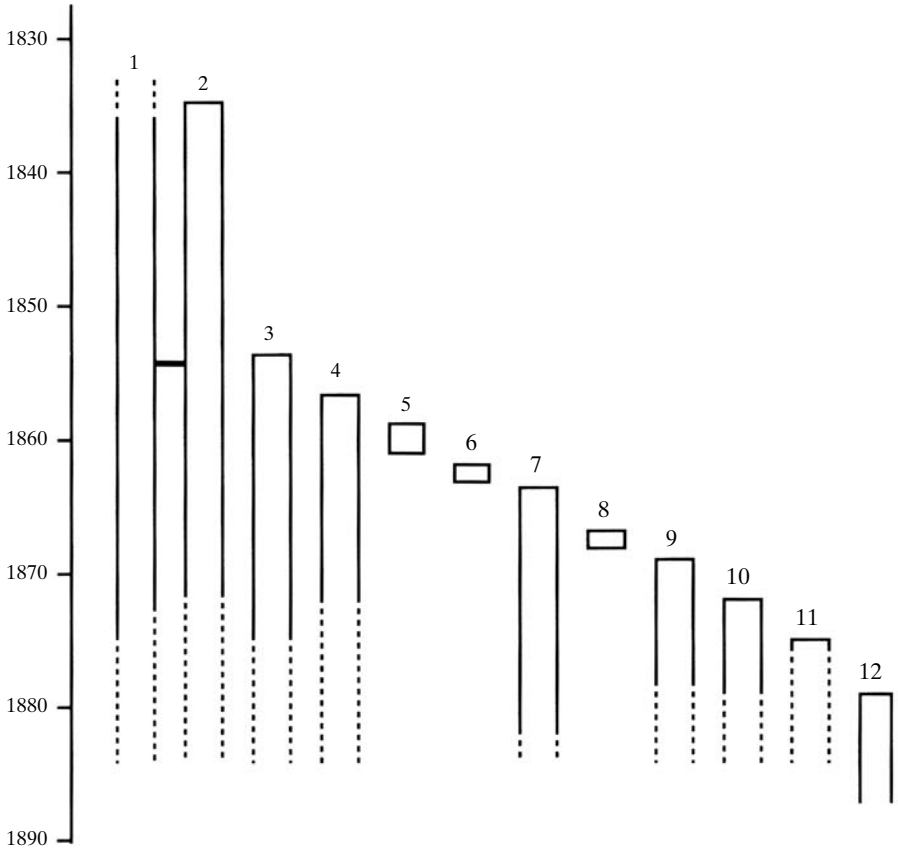
Of the nine completed families mentioned, only for four can all intervals be calculated exactly, i.e., the births are reported by date in the baptismal register, and have not been reconstituted from the death or the confirmation registers which do not carry the exact date of birth.

Thus, instead of working with representative samples, we have at our disposal several reproductive histories which can serve as illustrative case studies. Figure 4.1 presents the birth intervals of the four above-mentioned cases.

Of all the couples that achieved a completed family, only one displays features which might characterize it as a case of adoption of fertility-limitation behavior in an otherwise natural fertility regime (Willigan, Mineau, Anderton and Bean 1982, 161–176). Joseph Mirci Peciov and Anna Marko Ivanova Markova were married on 10 January 1854, and their first child, a daughter Maria, was born exactly nine months after that. Their next five children (three boys and two girls) followed in intervals of 26, 32, 30, 43 and 32 months. Only the second daughter, Serafina, died as an infant (at 9 months). The couple's reproductive period was the shortest of the reconstituted: 10 years and 6 months. Both parents were apparently still alive when they married their first-born daughter in 1875, and one of their sons in 1884.

The Peciov family is an example which shows all the known characteristics of the adoption of fertility limitation. It 'is thus indexed by declining age of last birth—truncation of the child bearing experience—and increasing last and, in some cases, next to last closed birth intervals" (Anderton and Bean 1985, 169). It also occurs after a selected number of children are born.

At the other extreme is the history of Gocio Ivanov Stefanov (Gregorius Momin) and of Anna Petri Scopova whose total reproductive period stretched over a period of 25 years and 4 months, as shown in Figure 4.2. Gocio and Anna (the bride aged 18) were likewise married on 10 January 1854 and Catharina, their first-born, appeared after nine months. A second girl, Maria, followed in a little over two and a half years, and a third, Anna, in another 29 months. Anna died at the age of two when the mother had just become pregnant again and the next child, a girl again, was named after her dead predecessor, but died in less than a year.



1 Gocio Ivanov Stefanov, birthdate unknown, married 10 January 1854
2 Anna Petri Scopova, born 1835, married 10 January 1854
3 Catharina, born 4 November 1854, confirmation 24 August 1862, married 12 January 1875
4 Maria, born 6 June 1857, confirmation 20 September 1868
5 Anna, born 15 November 1859, died 14 November 1861
6 Anna, born 12 July 1862, died 14 April 1863
7 Angela, born 22 October 1864, confirmation 18 June 1871, married 10 January 1882
8 Joanna, born 21 June 1867, died 11 October 1868
9 Joanna, born 7 February 1869, confirmation 12 May 1878
10 Joannes, born 29 February 1872, confirmation 12 May 1878
11 Gregorio, born 4 July 1875
12 Jozo, born 25 May 1879, confirmation 11 November 1888

* followed up until 1884 on the basis of the *Liber baptizatorium*; last entry of the *Liber mortuorum* from 1872.

Figure 4.2. Reproductive history of Anna Petri Scopova*

The fifth daughter, Angela, born in 1864 after an interval of 27 months, to be followed by a sixth in 1867. This girl, named Joanna, died a little after she reached her first year, and the next was named after her dead sister. It was only the eighth birth of the couple which produced a boy, Joannes, in 1872, the eighteenth year of the marriage. Joannes was followed by two more boys, Jozo and Gregorio, born respectively after a 40-month and a 46-month interval. In this particular case it can be assumed that the family strove not merely to achieve the desired number of children but first and foremost the desired (or minimal) number of boys.

Before proceeding further, two more issues must be mentioned: illegitimacy and abortions. There is no evidence of illegitimacy in the registers and, as already stated, the few cases of birth intervals of less than 9 months should be treated rather as premature births. There are very few mentions of illegitimate children in the ethnographic questionnaires, and even in these few cases the emphasis is on their infrequency (EIM/BAN 490–II, 46; 705–II, 141). Probably because of their rarity, in some regions illegitimate children were thought to be especially beautiful, talented and lucky (EIM/BAN 885–II, 14). On the other hand, in Northwest Bulgaria (the Vidin region), although rare, illegitimate children were considered to be the utmost shame, bringing evil to the entire community (Marinov 1914, 156). Marinov (1892b, 511) has recorded during the 1890s that illegitimate children were strangled or left on the road to be picked up by somebody, but most often would freeze or be torn to pieces by animals. He does not, however, specify the number of such cases nor where and when they had happened, which leaves one wondering whether the cruel treatment was a routine practice or, rather, a rare preventive strategy.

As for abortions, these too were reported to be rare. Again, as in the cases of illegitimacy, the only information available comes from the ethnographic questionnaires, prepared during the 1950s to 1970s. As the interviewees were elderly village women born in the 1880s and 1890s, their experience would be authentic for the turn of the century, and the first decades of the twentieth century. Judging from the open tone of the questionnaires, there is every reason to believe that the informants were straightforward and did not avoid the questions they were asked. However, even with the ones who had experienced one or more abortions, the overall assessment was that it had been a rare phenomenon, which became more common in the interwar period and especially after the Second World War. In the Catholic villages, on the other hand, it was categorically stated that abortions were not practiced (EIM/BAN 869–II, 78).

Women would resort to abortions usually when they had too many children. As one of the women, born in 1887 put it: “I’ve removed four, and have given birth to two girls and four children [sic!]” (EIM/BAN 870–II, 3). Although this wording reflects the preference for boys typical of any traditional rural society, female infanticide was unknown.

The usual way to proceed was to approach a wise-woman, who began with prescribing different herbs, hot baths, and applied pressure to the womb. One such herb is mentioned, the poisonous oleander, which was administered into the uterus (EIM/BAN 869–II, 130). If nothing helped, the drastic measure was damaging the foetus with a spindel (EIM/BAN 699–II, 54; 869–II, 2). There were, naturally, cases of unsuccessful abortions. One such case has been described in the 1930s when a teacher assembling ethnographic material from villages in the Petrich district encountered a child who had been disabled during a similar attempted abortion (EIM/BAN 81, 116).

The lack of mention of any kind of punishment for, or social stigma attached to, abortion (besides being considered a sin from a religious point of view), corroborates the belief that abortions were so rare as not to be perceived as a threat to traditional morality. Besides, this type of fertility control seems to have been practiced on a wider scale only in the interwar period.

Only for the Bulgarian Muslims is there a vague mention of birth control different from abortion. Thus Stoyu Shishkov who published the result of his research among the *Pomaks* in 1900 reports that, to avoid many children, they would resort to different home-made medicines, and "other preventive measures" (Shishkov 1900, 380).

Twins in a closed population

Even a cursory glance at the sources points to the frequency of twins (*gemelli*). The *Liber baptizatorum,* in conjunction with some data from the death register permits the reconstruction of the twinning rate for the village in the course of 50 years, as represented in Table 4.5.

It is well known that twinning rates in different parts of the world as well as in different parts of the same country can vary considerably. Still, according to their twinning rates, world populations have been divided in three main groups: those with a high twinning rate (most of the African populations); those with an intermediary twinning rate (the populations of Europe, the United States, India and Pakistan); and those with a low twinning rate (the populations of Asia) (Nylander 1975, 87; Geda 1961, 52–61).

The European twinning rate falls usually between 10 and 15 per thousand maternities, the lowest figure being 9.1 for Spain (1951–1953), followed by Portugal (10.1 in 1955–1956), France (10.8 in 1946–1951), Belgium (10.9 in 1950) and Austria (10.9 in 1952–56). The highest figures are for Latvia (16.3 in 1938–1956), Romania (15.6 in 1936–1938), Estonia (15.1 in 1935–1937), Finland (14.6 in 1935–1937) and Denmark (14.2 in 1946–1955) (Nylander 1975, 90–92). Altogether, twinning rates have been relatively constant, except for an insufficiently explained decline after the 1950s (Nylander 1975, 106).

Table 4.5 Rates of twinning from the *Liber baptizatorum*, 1833–1883

Year	Number of birth	Multiple births	Twinning rate	Year	Number of births	Multiple births	Twinning rate
1833	28	0	—	1859	79	2	25.31
1834	46	1	21.7	1860	80	2	25.00
1835	49	0	—	1861	69	—	—
1836	49	2	40.81	1862	84	2	23.80
1837	61	1	16.39	1863	86	1	11.63
1838	55	1	18.18	1864	86	—	—
1839	61	1	15.38	1865	92	1	10.86
1840	43	0	—	1866	80	2	25.00
1841	55	0	—	1867	91	1	10.98
1842	76	1	13.16	1868	90	4	44.44
1843	53	1	18.86	1869	105	1	9.52
1844	68	0	—	1870	82	3	36.58
1845	62	3	48.38	1871	81	3	37.03
1846	73	4	54.79	1872	82	1	12.19
1847	70	1	14.28	1873	105	2	19.04
1848	71	1	14.08	1874	91	—	—
1849	60	0	—	1875	90	1	11.11
1850	54	0	—	1876	104	1	9.61
1851	64	1	15.62	1877	101	—	—
1852	64	0	—	1878	99	4	40.40
1853	76	1	13.15	1879	115	1	8.69
1854	73	3	41.09	1880	110	3	27.27
1855	63	2	31.74	1881	95	1	10.53
1856	64	2	31.25	1882	116	2	17.24
1857	71	1	14.08	1883	140	4	28.57
1858	62	0	—				
			total	(1833–1883)	3924	69	17.58

Bulgaria belongs to the intermediary group with a twinning rate of 11.9 in 1935–1939, alongside Holland (11.9 in 1946–1955), Switzerland (11.7 in 1943–1948), Poland (11.7 in 1931–1932) and Sweden (11.7 in 1946–1955).

Given the very good quality of the registration, the data from the Baltadzhi register are a rare source for establishing the twinning rate during the nineteenth century, although they are representative of a small population in a limited area. Incidentally, the register includes data not only from the village of Baltadzhi, although they are the most numerous, but has also entries for some of the adjacent villages: Kalascli(a), Ghirene (Gherenkioi), Seldzhikovo, Ambarlia (Hambarli). However, the indication of location, especially in the earlier period, is not reliable enough to separate the Baltadzhi cases. In any case, this would not alter

the analysis except that it refers to the births represented in the *Liber baptizatorum,* and not only to the births in Baltadzhi. In this text, however, whenever the Baltadzhi data are mentioned, the author has in mind all the information from the Baltadzhi register.

The only other data known to the author on twinning rates of a Balkan nineteenth century population have been reported for the village of Eftimie Murgu for the period 1803–1823, and for the Bran area for the period 1871–1900, both in Romania (Schmidt and Beroniade 1980, 39–43). The value of 21.9 per mille calculated for Eftimie Murgu displays a very high frequency, which is explained by the authors with the small population and relative isolation of the village, where 'a strong endogamy could result in an increased frequency of that gene." The Bran population, on the other hand, with a twinning rate of 9.5, falls within the limits of normal frequency.

In the case of Baltadzhi a relatively high frequency of twins can be observed, much higher than the Bulgarian or European average. Over the half-century for which the twinning rates can be assessed there is no particular discernible tendency of growth or decrease despite the variations in frequency. The figures for the consecutive decades are as follows: 1833–1842 (11.47); 1843–1852 (17.21); 1853–1862 (20.80); 1863–1872 (18.28); 1973–1883 (16.29).

The number of monozygotic and dizygotic twins has been established using Weinberg's differential method.[6] In the course of the 50 year period there are 13 (or 11) monozygotic, and 56 (or 58) dizygotic twins, which accounts for a monozygotic twinning rate of 3.3 (or 2.8), and a dizygotic twinning rate of 14.3 (or 14.8), depending on the one unspecified case.[7] Nowadays it has been widely accepted that monozygotic twinning is not influenced by heredity but is a chance phenomenon with very little variation in the different world populations (usually between 3 and 4 per 1000 maternities. However, there are strongly dissenting views from the dominant belief (Gedda 1961, 83–88). Gedda himself concluded, on the basis of an extensive study of family data, that, "The phenomena of MZ and DZ twinning are based on the same genetic factor" (1961, 99). According to him, both sexes are able to transmit this genetic factor operating in both MZ and DZ twinning, but different exogenous or exogenous concomitants may be responsible for one or another of the twin pregnancies. The number and relative share of monozygotes in Baltadzhi corresponds to the Romanian nineteenth century data, as well as to the overall incidence of monozygous twins in Europe which falls in the range of 2.9 to 3.8 twins per one thousand births, judging from the data available for the 1930s to the 1950s (Nylander 1975, 92).

As for the dyzigotes, different factors have been advanced as responsible for their incidence: race and ethnic differences, maternal age, number of previous births, physical characteristics (height and weight), social class, fecundability, and others (Nylander 1975, 8–106; Gedda 1961, 67–92).

Obviously, the character of our source material makes it possible to discuss only some of these factors. One of the generally accepted correlations is the one frequently defined as Duncan's law: "The number of multiple births increases with the number of pregnancies and the age of the mother" (Gedda 1961, 69). Several studies on different European regions have shown the increase of the incidence of twinning with the mother's age, the peak being reached at age 35 to 39. In general, there exists an agreement regarding the correlation of twinning rates to maternal age. On the other hand, some authors have also asserted that, irrespective of the mother's age, the frequency of twins rises with each consecutive birth order. This latter association of twinning rates and numbers of previous births has not been confirmed by other authors, who generally doubt the existence of a straightforward correlation (Gedda 1961, 70–77).

The Baltadzhi data permit the reconstruction of the mother's age only for 12 of the 69 twin births. With the exception of one single case, all the other twin births are at least of the third or higher order, the ages of the mothers being 24, 25, 30, 30, 31, 34, 34, 36, 36, 41. There is the obvious clustering in the 30–36 age group. The one exception is two consecutive twin births of the first and second birth order, where the mother died of complications following the second birth. The case is of Katharina, daughter of Joseph and Stana Ajanski, born on February 27, 1846. Although the date of her marriage to Paulus Petrov Pauloski Gugerov is not indicated in the marriage register, she apparently gave birth to her first couple of male twins, (Jacobus and Petrus) on May 23, 1868 at the age of 22. Petrus died as an infant of three months. Her second couple of twins (this time female: Pelagia and Angela) was born on September 18, 1871, and Katharina died on December 12, 1871. The first twin died in December 1872. The girls' fate is unknown as the death register ends with 1872. The father remarried on December 10, 1972, two days before the anniversary of his first wife's death, and just a week after the death of the second of his first-born twins.

However, to these data we can add the fact that eight twin births were of the first order, although the mother's age is unspecified. Given that the average age at marriage for the village was 19 (see Chapter III), and that most of the twin births can be shown to have taken place in the first or second year after the wedding, it is safe to add that in at least another eight cases twins were born in their mothers' early twenties.

Taking into account the order of birth, the twin births can be grouped as shown in Table 4.6. The order of birth has been counted for the births of women married for the first time (which is the majority of the cases). However, in two instances, although the twin births are the first births in the marriage, they have been grouped as unknown, because the mothers were designated as widows at the time of the weddings, i.e., they were not the first births for the mother.

What can be deduced from Table 4.6 is that there were two peaks in the twin-

ning frequencies, depending on maternal age and parity. One is recorded at orders 1–2, when the mother would be in her early to middle twenties, the other in orders 5–6, when the mother would be in her late twenties to middle thirties, given that the average birth interval was 2.5 to 3 years.

Table 4.6 Frequency of twin births depending on order of birth

Order of birth	*Number of twin births*	*Percentage of twin births*
1	8	11.6
2	11	15.9
3	5	7.2
4	5	7.2
5	2	2.9
6	8	11.6
7	—	—
8	1	1.5
9	2	2.9
over 3 (unspecified)	5	7.2
unknown	22	31.9
total	69	99.9

Whereas the second peak is confirmed by twin statistics, and conforms to Duncan's law,[8] the first peak (in orders 1–2) is difficult to explain. A similar cluster of high twinning frequency is encountered in the data on the nineteenth century Romanian population. One possible hypothesis has been advanced relating this phenomenon to the higher fertility of these mothers, expressed by a hereditary capacity of polyovulation. As about three quarters of all twins in the Romanian population are the last born in the family, it is supposed that the occurrence of twins acts as a reproductive stop, and thus mothers of twins will contribute little to the appearance of new twins (Schmidt and Beroniade 1980, 42).

This explanation, however, is difficult to sustain for the Bulgarian data. While it is true that 15 twins are certainly, and 5 twins are possibly the last born in the families, with very few exceptions (like the one described above), these are all births of a higher order. They can hardly be considered the result of a strategy of reproductive stops although, obviously, last twin births which have caused or are followed by the death of the mother, can be treated as reproductive stops, but not as a strategy of reproductive stops. There are only three cases of maternal deaths which can be unequivocally attributed to the birth of twins. At the same time, practically all twin births of the first and second order have been followed by a varying, but high, number of single births.

Following are a few case studies, illustrating different family strategies. Sta-

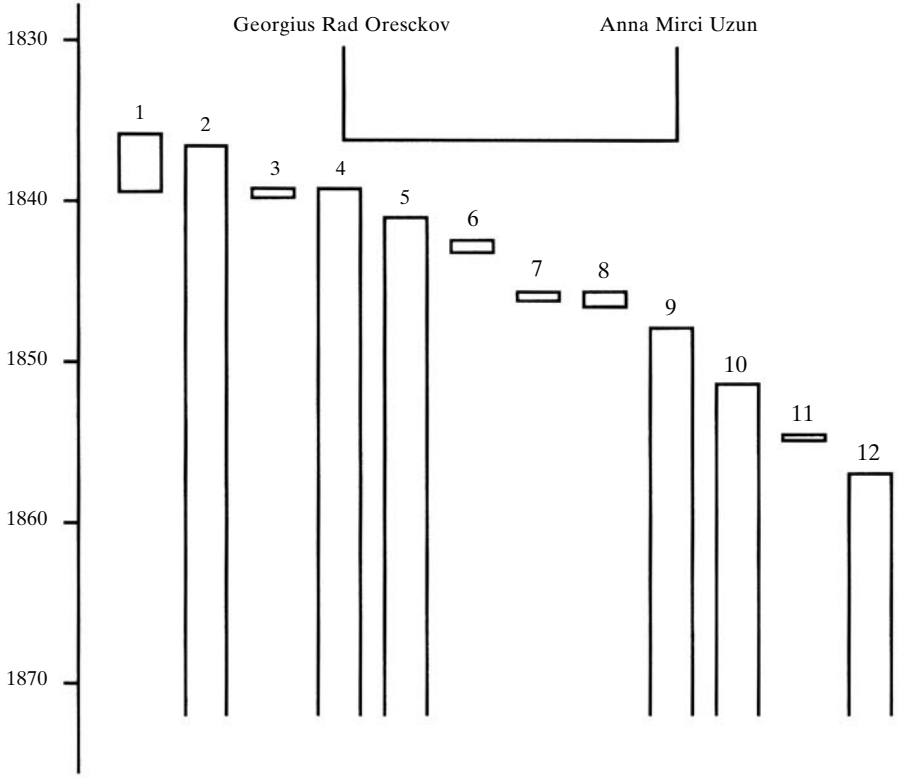
nislava Nicolova Jakova married Ghiorghi Nicolov Kecigiski on February 12, 1843. The first offsprings were twins, conceived in the second month of the marriage, and born on December 3, 1843. They were baptized, as Nicolaus and Joannis, on the same day but one of the twins, Nicolaus, died on the sixth day after his birth. After that, there were at least five more single births (but possibly more) reconstituted from the different registers, the last recorded being from 1862.

In another similar case, even the second pair of twins did not stop the reproductive tempo of the family. After giving birth to two consecutive pairs of twins (one in 1834, the other in 1836) Anna and Mircio Kecigiski had at least another six children, the last recorded being born in 1849.

In one of the rare cases of a reconstituted completed family, Anna, the daughter of Mirci Uzun married Giorgius Radiov Oresckov on December 11, 1834 (see Figure 4.3). At her wedding she was barely 19, but already a widow. It is assumed that she did not have children by her first marriage (which was impossible to trace in the registers). Sixteen months after the wedding she gave birth to her first-born daughter, Maria, to be followed by a second daughter, Anastasia, in another sixteen months. The third birth produced a pair of twins (Maria and Jacobus), born in October 1839. By that time, obviously, the first Maria had died, and the twin sister was named after her. She, too, apparently died at birth or immediately after, because in 1848 another daughter was named Maria. (Most probably both children died in different months of 1839, the only year with missing mortality data). After the twins, two sons followed at close to two-years intervals. The sixth birth was another mixed pair of twins (Rafael and Catherina), born in May 1846. Of the eight children that the family had in less than twelve years, the last three died between a month and over a year after their birth. This, however, did not serve as a check on their reproductive activities. Another four children followed (Maria in 1848, Joseph in 1851, Catherina in 1854, who lived only one day, and Birgitta in 1857) at approximately three-year intervals. After the birth of Birgitta on the twenty-third year of the marriage, the couple did not have any more children, and Anna died on February 15, 1869 at the age of 54, survived by her husband, and six of the twelve children to whom she had given birth. The above is one of the few fortunate cases with complete registration which gives ample evidence for the existence of natural fertility with regular birth intervals between two and three years, and where the repeated occurrence of twins did not serve as a reproductive stop.

Lastly, there is the rather morbid case of the marriage of Anna Ivanova Gogiova and Joannes Petrov Scopov concluded on January 18, 1853. After a son and a daughter born probably in 1854 and 1858, a twin pair was born in 1860 (Petrus and Josephus). On May 31, 1866 the next twins were born (Maria and Franciscus) who lived only three days and four months respectively. Finally on

April 15, 1870 a third pair of twins was born (Aloysius and Gregorius) who both died within a fortnight. After 1870 there were no other children registered as born to the couple.



1 Maria, born 12 April 1836, probably died in 1839
2 Anastasia, born 8 September 1837
3 Maria, born 14 October 1839, probably died in 1839
4 Jacobus, born 14 October 1839
5 Joannes, born 2 November 1841, confirmation 13 June 1852, married 1861
6 Stanislaus, born 21 September 1843, died 24 April 1844
7 Rafael, born 4 May 1846, died 6 June 1846
8 Catherina, born 4 May 1846, died 26 September 1847
9 Maria, born 4 May 1848
10 Joseph, born 28 December 1851, married 1875
11 Catherina, born 10 July 1854, died 11 July 1854
12 Birgitta, born 29 July 1857

* married 11 December 1834, died 15 February 1869; last entry of *Liber mortuorum* from 1872.

Figure 4.3. Reproductive history of Anna Mirci Uzun*

However, in September and October of 1872 the smallpox killed the couple's first four children (aged 18, 14, and 12 for the twins), leaving them without a single child. As the last entries in the *Liber mortuorum* are of 1872, one can only conjecture whether the parents too fell victims to the smallpox, if they left the village, or, after nearly twenty years of marriage, they were resigned to a childess old age.

Returning to the factors influencing the frequency of twinning, it is clear that, in general, the Bulgarian data corroborate the correlation between maternal age and parity, and twin births. However, the high frequency of twins also in the first two birth orders, and at a young age of the mother, falls outside this scheme. Obviously, other factors are at work. Of course, on their own, neither the age of the mother, nor the birth order can explain the occurrence of twins. As a whole, authors have agreed in accepting the genetic theory as the most plausible explanation for the twinning phenomenon, although there are some differences on whether both types of twinning (MZ and DZ) are based on heredity.

The most promising direction would be to look into whether twins are dispersed in the population, or whether they belong to family agglomerations. With the lack of information of the *Liber status animarum* type it is extremely difficult, if not outright impossible, to reconstruct the kinship network of the village of Baltadzhi. However, even at this stage of family reconstitution it is possible to discern extended family groups (or clans) with a higher frequency of twinning.

Whenever families have been reconstituted from the marriage registers, they would have the full name of both parents (name, father's name and family name, and maiden family name in the case of the woman). This means that kinship connections can be traced both on the mother's and on the father's side. If, however, they are reconstituted starting from one of the other registers, often the mother would be represented only with her personal name, and her family connections cannot be further pursued.[9] Thus, as a result there would be a slight bias on reconstructing kinship ties on the paternal side, although it is well known that maternal heredity exerts greater influence on the majority of the twin births, i.e., the dizygotic ones (Gedda 1961, 89).

Eight twin births in Baltadzhi (of the cluster of 69) can be traced to different members of the Kecegiski family. In six instances this refers to male representatives of the family, and only in one to a female. One family (reported above) had two pairs of consecutive twins. Only in one case is it possible to ascertain the exact connection between the different members of the Kecegiski family: a father and a son. Mircio (Demetrio) Nikolov Kecigiski and his wife Rada (Rafaela) had 10 children, the first of whom was born in 1833. The last birth, in 1848, produced a pair of twins (of identical sex). Their second-born son, Joannes (born 1837), was married in 1858 to Maria Izev Nikol Ghiova. After three single births, in 1868 Maria gave birth to twins (of different sexes). One of the Kecigiski fam-

ily, Ghiorghi, was related through his marriage to Stanislava Jakova. Altogether three female representatives of the Jakov family had twins in the time period under investigation.

Three members of the Gogiov (also Gagiov or Gogiolov) family had among themselves six twins. One is the above-described family of Joannes Petrov Scopov and Anna Ivanova Gogiova who had three pairs of twins. Another is Joannnis Stojanov Gogiolov, who, by two different marriages, fathered two pairs of twins of the same sex (female in the first marriage, male in the second). Through his second marriage to Catharina Ivanova Mittova in 1879, Joannis Gogiolov was related to another family with a propensity for twins. Catharina's sister, Dominica (Nedelia[10] or Neda) gave birth to twins (after three previous single births) from her marriage to Giorgi Stoianov Ghendov. Likewise, Catharina's and Dominica's widowed brother, Giorgi Ivanov Mittov, married the widow Anna Ivanova Cepisciova in November 1881, and in March 1883 the couple had their first twins.

The third representative, Spas Gagiov, had a pair of twins by his marriage to Anna Petrova Zamniarova, a member of another family cluster with a high frequency of twins. Altogether four twin births can be attributed to the Zamniarovs, although it was impossible to establish their exact family connection. Other family agglomerations are represented by the Romanovs and the Peiovs (four twins each), the Lafciskis and Crifciovs (three twins each), and the Plackov, Saliov and Ajanski (two twins each).

In the folk perception multiple births were obviously held to be a genetic characteristic: "Twinning goes in the family" (EIM/BAN 869–II, 139). It is not clear what the attitude to twins would be in a settlement like Baltadzhi, where a higher frequency of twins might make it be accepted as a more normal event. One thing is certain, however. Given the number of twins reflected in the sources, we can safely exclude twin-murder, encountered in some medieval European populations (Corney 1975, 3).

Infanticide was extremely rare in the patriarchal Bulgarian countryside. In the extensive ethnographic questionnaires covering the whole territory of the country, only once is there evidence of violent disposal of multiple infants, and the testimony does not make it clear whether this was practiced in the lifetime of the interviewee, or was simply handed down. Besides, the mentioned case concerns only triplets, and not twins. In the village of Golyamo Konare (today part of the town Sîedineniye, Plovdiv district), it was reported that triplets would be left out to die. Twins were not harmed, although it was believed in the same village that, when twin sisters were born, they and the mother would die (EIM/BAN 869–II, 139).

In a village from Northern Bulgaria it was believed, conversely, that twins of the like sex are bound to bring luck, whereas with twins of unlike sex one of the two was doomed (EIM/BAN, 888–II, 11). Marinov (1914, 156) reports that in all of the Northwest Bulgarian region twins of the same sex were esteemed. All

other mentions of twins in the ethnographic source material are concerned with the greater mortality of twins, and the techniques to help them survive. Corney mentions, without specifying his source, that "in Bulgaria the mothers of the bride and the groom simultaneously drank brandy as this alcoholic union of mothers-in-law was thought to prevent twin grandchildren" (1975, 3). In villages of the Silistra district, if one of a pair of twins would die, a coin was cut on the doorstep. The piece which fell outside the house was put next to the corpse of the dead twin with the words: "This is your brother (sister)." The other piece was brought inside to the live twin (EIM/BAN 649–II, 90–91, 215).

In another village from Central Bulgaria, the parents would go as far as putting the live twin in the grave next to the dead one. Then an adult, not related to the family, would take the child out, and put in a stone instead, saying: "This one is your brother (sister), and that one is mine" (EIM/BAN 349–I, 4). It is interesting that children born by the same parents in the same month (though in different years) were also thought of being threatened like twins, and were, accordingly, treated in the same manner all over the country.

Another widespread custom was to plant a tree between the twins (or the born in the same month), which would symbolically divide them and protect them from death. This belief and the accompanying practice were encountered in almost all villages of the Plovdiv district, Catholic villages inclusive (EIM/BAN 869–II, 11).

In describing the population of a particular village it was demonstrated that this population was characterized by a high twinning rate. Among a variety of explanations, the most plausible seems to be the more or less closed character of the population, where the probability of strong endogamy and, consequently, the accumulation of the twinning gene, is very high.

As already mentioned, the Bulgarian population throughout the whole nineteenth century was characterized by high fertility, something typical of populations prior to the onset of the fertility transition. The specific information from the Catholic parish registers and the ethnographic materials corroborate this assumption. At the same time, on the individual level, they add certain details which describe different behavioral patterns, a few of which adopt some kind of fertility limitation. How this regime of fertility is coupled with a specific pattern of mortality will be described in the next chapter.

Notes

1 For fairness sake it should be noted that in Bulgarian the word *chovek* is used, which means a human being, regardless of sex.

2 The *Liber baptizatorum* for Baltadzhi (1833–1876), kept in the City and District Archives of Plovdiv, and its sequel covering the time period 1877–1901, kept in the parish

church of Sekirovo. Copies of entries from the second register for the period until 1884 were obtained with the gracious permission of the parish priest in 1988.

3 Donkov (1979, 37) cites the following figures (per thousand): 1881–1885 (36.8), 1886–1890 (36.0), 1891–1895 (37.6), 1896–1900 (41.0), 1901–1905 (40.7), 1906–1910 (42.1), 1911–1915 (38.6), 1916–1920 (26.2), 1921–1925 (39.0).

4 The eliminated cases, except for death, include zero-parity and one-parity couples who have not been encountered in any capacity in any of the registers after the first mention. They also include couples with sporadic entries compiled mainly from the death or confirmation registers.

5 The complete birth intervals are: 25 years 1 month, 24 years 1 month, 23 years, 23 years, 22 years, 22 years, 18 years 3 months, over 17 years, 10 years 6 months.

6 This method is based on the fact that dizygotes have an equal probability of being of the same of different sex. Thus, the monozygotes can be found with the formula (P-2n), where *P* is the total number of twins, and *n* is the number of twins of unlike sex. For more sophisticated techniques see Geda 1961, 62–66).

7 The one case which cannot be established has the name of only one of the twins (Anna, *gemella*), because the other had apparently died before baptism.

8 It has been suggested by Milham that the higher frequency of births is due to the increase of the gonadotropin amount with every consecutive order (quoted Schmidt and Beroniade 1980, 42–43).

9 The marriage register always entered the full names of the bride and the bridegroom. The baptismal register also gave the names of both parents, specifying the maiden family name of the mother. The death register would give the name of the father and only the first name of the mother, and the confirmation register would often skip altogether the mother's name.

10 Nedelia is the literal Slavic translation of the Latin name Dominica.

V
DEATH AND MORTALITY

This data in this chapter are derived from the only comprehensive sources for the mortality of the population: the *Libri mortuorum* of the Catholics. Of the series of death registers known to exist today, there are some 22 covering different periods of 5 settlements in the Plovdiv district of Southern Bulgaria: the town of Plovdiv and 4 villages (see Appendix I). For three of the settlements (Plovdiv and two villages) the registration begins in the late 1830s and 1840s; for the other two villages the series begins in 1818 and in 1874.[1] Although in the case of the death registers the entries continue uninterrupted to the present day, they are not always backed up by a full series of corresponding birth (baptismal), marriage, and confirmation registers.

Especially daunting is the absence of registers of the *Liber status animarum* type, which would give a secure basis for establishing the total number of the population of a given settlement. That makes even an approximate calculation of the crude birth rate impossible. The only data on the total number of inhabitants in the Catholic settlements come from the dispatches of Andreas Canova, the first Capuchin missionary (1841–1866) and the first Capuchin bishop of the Catholic vicarage of Sofia-Plovdiv (Tarnovaliski 1969, 33). Three of his dispatches addressed to the *Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide* contain information, which is summarized in Table 5.1 (Tarnovaliski 1969, 144, 229, 262).[2]

Table 5.1 Population of the Catholic settlements around Plovdiv

Name	*1842*	*1848*	*1859*
Plovdiv	1543	1840	2050
Baltadzhi	579	1133	1314
Calascli	1212	1279	1525
Seldzhikovo	480	395	412
Ambarlia	500	515	490
Duvanlia	422	331	328
Daudzhovo	460	398	370
Ghirene	—	—	270
total	5186	5891	6759

An exception to the absence of *Libri status animarum* is the case of Seldzhikovo (Kaloyanovo) for the years 1836–1838, when alongside the usual registration of vital events, a *Liber status animarum* was compiled (see Appendix II). However, even in this case any gender- and age-specific rates are impossible to determine, as the ages of the inhabitants are not entered. The foregoing vital statistics, on the other hand, cover only the previous two decades (1818–1838), and even that incompletely, so that the reconstitution method can hardly be applied.

It has been impossible to find Ottoman statistical material which would indicate at least the total population of the Catholic villages with vital statistics, although the existence of such documents is plausible, at least for the late 1860s and 1870s.

According to the 1874 order of the Council of State (*Suray-i Devlet*, established in 1867), initiation of a new registration system and a new census were to be undertaken. Three regulations were issued concerning the census methods, the types of registers to be used, and the appointment of population officials (Karpat 1985, 29). Three types of registers were to be created. The first, the basic register (*esas defter*), was to list all males with information on age, physical description, and military status. The second, a summary (*icmal*) register, would list the total number of inhabitants in a given district, and would provide a breakdown of the population by religion. The third register was supposed to reflect daily events (births, deaths and migrations), which were to be entered every six months in the summary register for an update (Karpat 1985, 29–30, 37–43).

The new system could not be implemented because of the political turmoil created by the Eastern crisis of 1875–1878, but one can easily recognize its predecessor and early model in the census system used in the *Tuna vilâyeti* in the 1860s under the auspices of Midhat pasha. It remains to be seen whether documents of the type discussed in Chapter II will be found for other parts of Bulgaria.

It is true that the Ottoman registers were periodically updated, and deceased individuals, or migrants, were taken out of the lists. Thus, the *cizye* register of Varna from the middle of the nineteenth century, which appears to be a copy (or rather, an update of an earlier register), has entries like “dead” or “taken in another town” (referring to the tax, paid by a citizen of Varna while residing in another place) (Todorova 1982). However, it is impossible to use such entries for the measurement of vital events. Thus, the following analysis is based exclusively on the information derived from the death registers of Baltadzhi (for 1833–38, and 1840–1872), and the parish registers for Seldzhikovo and Duvanli (for 1818–1838), as well as from the ethnological questionnaires housed in the Ethnographic institute in Sofia.

Gender and Age Specific Mortality

One of the few rates which can be calculated from the existing data, is the infant mortality rate (IMR), i.e., the ratio of infant deaths to the number of registered live births during the same year. Barclay considers this vital rate "a hybrid, falling between the usual type of age-specific death rate and the infant mortality rate as defined in the life-table" (1958, 138) and calls it the "infant death rate."

A fairly detailed set of entries is available in the *Liber mortuorum* and the *Liber baptizatorum*. Table 5.2 presents the infant mortality rates for the period 1833–1872 from the vital records of the village of Baltadzhi. The *Liber mortuorum* of Baltadzhi, which is kept in the National Museum in Sofia, begins in August 1840. Accordingly, only the births from August 1840 on have been entered in the table. This information has been supplemented by an unbound register of deaths (14 pages), comprising the first period, from June 1833 to 1838. This latter document is part of the collection of *Glavno upravlenie na arkhivite* (Chief management of the archives), and is kept at present in the directorate *Istorichesko nasledstvo* (Historical heritage). The *Liber baptizatorum* goes uninterrupted from 1833 to 1876.

Table 5.2 Infant mortality rates of the village of Baltadzhi, 1833–1872

Year	*Inf.D.*	*Births*	*IMR*	*Year*	*Inf.D.*	*Births*	*IMR*
1833	3	28	107.1	1853	23	77	298.7
1834	5	46	108.6	1854	15	76	197.3
1835	4	49	81.6	1855	14	65	215.4
1836	0	51	0	1856	15	66	227.3
1837	15	62	241.9	1857	15	72	208.3
1838	4	56	71.4	1858	16	62	258.1
1839	—	62	—	1859	23	81	283.9
1840	6	43	139.5	1860	14	82	170.7
1841	10	55	181.8	1861	17	70	242.8
1842	17	77	220.8	1862	13	84	154.8
1843	16	54	296.3	1863	12	87	137.9
1844	14	68	205.8	1864	14	86	162.8
1845	12	65	184.6	1865	17	92	184.7
1846	21	77	272.2	1866	20	82	243.9
1847	25	71	352.1	1867	29	99	292.9
1848	10	72	138.9	1868	30	94	319.1
1849	18	60	300.0	1869	17	106	160.4
1850	11	54	203.7	1870	28	85	329.4
1851	12	65	184.6	1871	36	84	428.6
1852	11	64	171.8	1872	43	83	518.1
				total	625	2750	227.3

The figures presented in Table 5.2 are only approximate. For instance, there are entries in the registers of Baltadzhi of both births and deaths from the adjacent villages (mostly from Kalascli). However, it is difficult to separate them, as one is not sure whether they always indicate the settlement of the newborn (or the deceased), or the previous settlement of one of the parents or of the godparents. This can be accomplished only after all existing parish registers of all adjacent villages are computerized, families reconstituted, and the inhabitants of the separate villages minutely determined. For the purposes of this table, we have assumed that such additional entries in the birth and death registers would, more or less, neutralize each other. Besides, there are the usual reservations about the accuracy of vital records in general. Are, for example, babies who die very soon after birth registered in both the birth and death records? This issue is discussed in the analysis of data on neonatal mortality, which follows.

The overall infant mortality rate, 227.3 per mille (i.e., more than one for every five births), corresponds to the high IMR typical for traditional societies. Even if the data are discounted for epidemic years, the IMR would still amount to 204.2 per mille. For purposes of comparison, infant death dates of over 200 per mille were typical for France during the second half of the nineteenth century, and for Sweden until the 1830s (Keyfitz and Flieger 1968, 24–39). In various Swiss cantons between 1867 and 1871, the IMR ranged between 149 and 292 per mille. Interestingly, the cantons with the lowest IMR were the Alpine ones, whereas the lowland cantons had the highest IMR (Viazzo 1989, 216).

Much more telling would be the comparison between Bulgaria and other Balkan regions. One of the few—if not the only one—with comprehensive data on infant mortality since the 1820s is Croatia. Between 1820 and 1880 the IMR for Croatia varied between 222.0 and 249.3 per mille, which corresponds as a whole to the Bulgarian data for this period. Beginning with the 1880s, the IMR started to decrease, but was still over 200 per mille until the First World War. It began to drop rapidly in the interwar period, and even faster after the 1960s (Gelo 1987, 159). Another example, although based on a very meager documentary basis, comes from Montenegro. For the period 1844–1851, the IMR rate in a Montenegrin settlement was around 200 per mille (Radovic 1984, 81). Research on Greece suggests a very differential IMR: very high in the urban centers and relatively low in the rural areas. Thus, in the period 1868–1878, Athens and the outlying region reached an IMR of 319 per mille, and Syros 242. This, however, reflected the enormous IMR in foundling hospitals. On the other hand, the IMR of Mykonos, which is probably representative of Greek rural areas as a whole, had extremely low IMRs at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, often less than 100 per mille, associated chiefly with long periods of breastfeeding (Hionidou 1997, 161–162, 169–170).

It is difficult to discern a long-term trend in the development of the IMR over the years. In order to obtain a more satisfactory degree of precision, infant mortality rates have been calculated by averaging over three years (see Table 5.3). The results are presented in Figure 5.1.

Table 5.3 Infant mortality rates (IMRs) for the village of Baltadzhi, 1833–1872

1833–1835	97.6	1846–1848	254.5	1861–1863	174.3
1836–1838	112.4	1849–1851	229.1	1864–1866	196.1
1839	unknown	1852–1854	225.8	1867–1869	254.2
1840–1842	188.6	1855–1857	216.7	1870–1872	424.6
1843–1845	224.6	1858–1860	235.6		

If anything, between 1843 and 1870 the IMR oscillated around an approximate constant. The smallpox epidemic of 1871/72 accounts for its catastrophic rise at the end of the period under consideration. Unfortunately, this particular *Liber mortuorum* reaches only until 1872, and at this stage it is impossible to speculate about the trend during the next decades.[3]

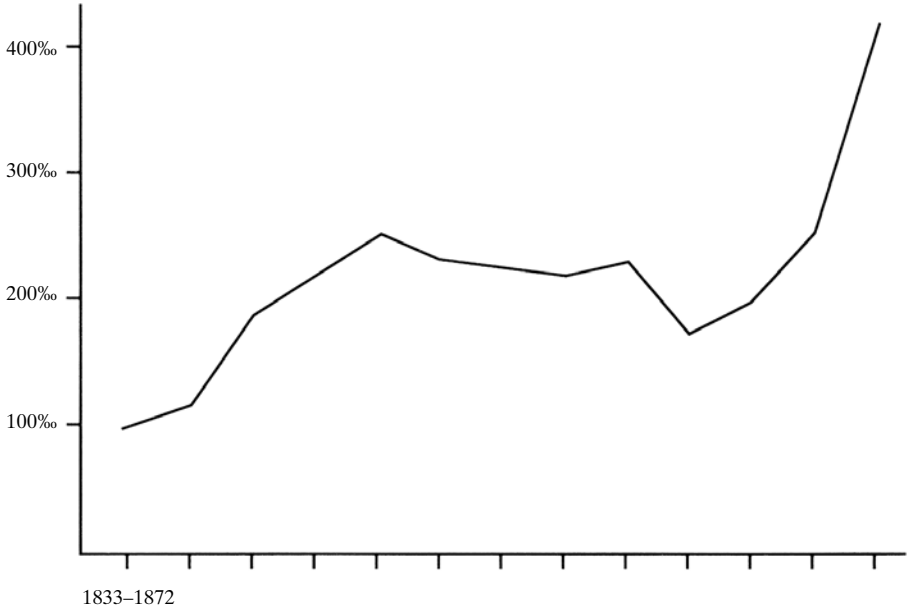


Figure 5.1 Infant mortality rates in Baltadzhi

The IMR for Bulgaria as a whole was 131.5 per mille for 1900, 158.7 per mille for 1910, and 146.0 per mille for 1920 (the breakdown for towns: 158.8 per mille, and for the villages: 143.6 per mille) (Naoumov, Stefanov, Sougarev 1974, 18).[4] Even if one were to assume that the partial nineteenth data coming from Baltadzhi are not representative for all of Bulgaria, and reflect an IMR above the national average, it is doubtless that the last two decades of the nineteenth century saw a considerable fall in the infant mortality rate. By the beginning of the twentieth century it was stabilized at levels of between 120 to 160 per mille until the Second World War. After the war there was a new drastic drop in the IMR, and a subsequent one in the 1960s (Naoumov, Stefanov, Sougarev 1974, 18). Compared to the Croatian data, the decrease of the IMR in Bulgaria to values under 200 per mille had occurred some two to three decades earlier (Gelo 1987, 159).

It is difficult to speculate from the data in Table 5.2 and from Figure 5.1 whether the infant mortality during the 1830s and in the preceding period was actually lower for a longer period of time. It is possible that the death data for the 1830s are somewhat deficient compared to later information. While the register of baptisms begins in 1833 with regular entries, the corresponding death register begins only in 1840. The data for 1833–1838 are added from a subsequently found unbound *Liber mortuorum* consisting of five folios. Information on the deceased in 1839 is missing altogether.

The only other data available for the period preceding the 1830s are the parish books of Seldzhikovo and Duvanli for 1818–1838. Although the *Liber baptizatorum* was kept in a remarkably regular way, this is not the case with the death register (in this case under the title *Libro dei morti*). This latter register had sporadic entries written in three different hands: three persons dead for 1818, two for 1819, two for 1820; no entries from 1821 through 1831; one person dead for 1832, five for 1833, six for 1834, three for 1835, and two for 1836. Beginning with 1837, however, and especially after the onset of the plague, there is a very full coverage of the death toll from the epidemic. This means that except for the death rate during the time of the plague, it is impossible to establish any reliable rates for the earlier years.

A further breakdown of the data is possible as, with few exceptions, the death register indicates the exact age at death of the infants (usually exact months or days, in fewer cases designated more generally as "half a year" or "approximately a year"). In two cases it is even specified as four hours, as for instance: *Aprili 30. Joseph infans quatuor horarum Petri Ghijov et Mariae Demetrii Stanciov obiit ablutus.*

Tables 5.4 and 5.5 present the results of this breakdown, by periods of five years. The ages of the deceased are the ones entered in the *Liber mortuorum*. In many cases the reported ages are approximations, although for more advanced ages and for the first decades in the register this cannot be verified, because a

series of earlier baptismal records is not available. This is certainly not the case with the ages of the infants which can be checked against the record from the *Liber baptizatorum*. In fact, what we encounter in the registers is an approximate reporting of infants' ages of death, but without drastic deviations. The cases of neonatal death are not, despite occasional mistakes, of the kind to change the grouping of the cases (less than 1 day, one to six days, etc.). Thus, the comparison between the death register and the baptismal register shows that, of the five cases of neonatal death for 1862, only one corresponds exactly to the reported 20 days. The other four specify: 20 days (in fact 38 days), 15 days (in fact 8 days), 20 days (in fact 15 days), and 4 days (in fact 3 days). However, while entering the data in table 5.4 there were two difficulties to be surmounted: where to place the

Table 5.4 Death cases of infants in Seldzhikovo

Year	*1 day or less*	*2–6 days*	*7–28 days*	*28 days–1 year*	*All ages under 1 year*	*Total number of births*
1833–37	1	3	4	19	27	236
1838–42	1	2	13	21	37	231
1843–47	2	4	23	59	88	335
1848–52	0	10	16	36	62	315
1853–57	2	12	19	49	82	356
1858–62	2	11	29	41	83	379
1863–67	5	8	30	49	92	446
1868–72	5	7	38	104	154	452
total	18	57	172	378	625	2750

Table 5.5 Infant mortality rates in Seldzhikovo by age

Year	*1 day*	*%*	*2–6 days*	*%*	*7–28 days*	*%*	*28 days 1 year*	*%*	*All ages*	*%*
1833–37	4.2	3.7	12.7	11.1	16.9	14.8	80.5	70.4	114.4	100
1838–42	4.3	2.7	8.6	5.4	56.3	35.1	90.9	56.8	160.2	100
1843–47	5.9	2.3	11.9	4.5	68.6	26.1	176.1	67.1	262.7	100
1848–52	—	—	31.7	16.1	50.8	25.8	114.3	58.1	196.8	100
1853–57	5.6	2.4	33.7	14.6	53.4	23.2	137.6	59.8	230.3	100
1858–62	5.3	2.4	29.0	13.3	76.5	34.9	108.2	49.4	218.9	100
1863–67	11.2	5.4	17.9	8.7	67.3	32.6	109.9	53.3	206.3	100
1868–72	11.1	3.3	5.5	4.5	84.1	24.7	230.1	67.5	338.5	100
total	6.5	2.9	20.7	9.1	62.5	27.5	137.4	60.5	227.3	100

cases reported as one year of age, and the ones reported as one month? The comparison between the individual cases in the death and baptismal register shows that the overwhelming majority of the deceased reported as one year old were, in fact, less than one full year. The same is true for the 1-month-olds who, with few exceptions of correctly stated age, are all less than 28 days old. Consequently, the 1-year-olds are added in the column "All ages under one year," and the 1-month-olds in the column "7–28 days (1 month)."[5]

It is well known that mortality in the first year of life is unevenly distributed: the highest concentration occurs in the first day, the first week, and the first month of life. Keeping this in mind, it is clear from the data that there was an undercounting of infant deaths in the first day and the first week of age. This obvious under-registration primarily concerns babies who have died immediately, or very shortly after birth, and have not been entered either in the death or in the birth records. In this case the overall IMR should be expected to be higher.

We can apply Louis Henry's (1967) method for estimating births of infants who died under three days of age and were consequently not registered in the baptismal and the death records. However, as already shown in the previous chapter, baptisms in Baltadzhi were usually registered on the day of the birth or on the next day. So, in the Bulgarian case, the under-registration of this type of births would be less than the 3% estimated by Henry for France. The actual IMR would be somewhere between (but closer to) the 227.3 per mille calculated above, and the 257.3 per mille hypothetically adjusted by using Henry's method.

On the other hand, if we analyze the total number of neonatal deaths, they do not seem to be really out of proportion to the whole infant death toll. It is widely accepted that "mortality of children under 28 days of age is generally almost as high or even higher than mortality in the next five months combined; mortality rates for the second half of the first year are always less than half, and usually less than one third of those for the first six months" (Palmore and Gardner 1983, 29).

The data provided on Tables 5.4 and 5.5 perfectly fit into these proportions. If one accepts that "one of the principal uses of the neonatal death rate is not as evidence of mortality but evidence of poor registration of infant deaths" (Barclay 1958, 144), then, despite the under-registration and the inaccuracies in the reporting of the exact age in the first days of life, the overall registration can be said to be remarkably complete. The same conclusion was already made about the quality of the baptismal records, judging from the sex ratio at birth. What can also be established is the differential infant mortality rate for males and females. This amounts to 203.6 per mille for the females, and to 249.5 per mille for the males but it is probably somewhat higher given the above-mentioned under-registration. This is also a typical picture reflecting the marked differences in infant mortality by sex.

As already mentioned, it is impossible to calculate even the crude death rate for ages over 1 year, as data of the *status animarum* type are missing. The only thing we can say in general terms is that the cases of infant mortality are over 40% of all death cases. Together with the deceased aged 1 to 4 years, they represent over three fifths of total deaths (see Table 5.6).

Tentative and approximate crude death rates can be obtained for the years 1848 and 1859, for which information on the total number of the population of Baltadzhi exists (Table 5.1). The crude death rate for 1848 would be 27.36, and for 1859 it would be 27.39 per mille, the total number of dead for the 2 years being 31 and 36 respectively.

Table 5.6 Distribution of death cases in Baltadzhi (1833–1872)

Age	*Cases*	*Percentage of total*	*Age*	*Cases*	*Percentage of total*
0– 1 years	625	42.1	30–39 years	65	4.4
1– 4 "	301	20.3	40–49 "	42	2.8
5– 9 "	103	6.9	50–59 "	54	3.6
10–19 "	83	5.6	60–69 "	81	5.5
20–29 "	54	3.6	70–79 "	76	5.1
			unknown	50	3.4
			total	1,534	100

The analogous data for Croatia and Dalmatia are presented in Table 5.7 (Gelo 1987, 148). As can be seen, the Bulgarian death rates, which are lower than the overall Croatian figures, are close to the Dalmatian ones.

Table 5.7 Death rates in Croatia (in per mille)

Period	*Croatia*	*Dalmatia*
1841–1845	36.18	25.16
1846–1850	40.00	27.40
1851–1855	41.49	27.53
1856–1860	33.72	20.90
1861–1865	35.76	24.90

Differential death rates for males and females cannot be established, given the paucity of the data (except for the infant mortality rate). However, the distribution of the deceased according to age is provided in Table 5.8:

Table 5.8 Distribution of death cases in Baltadzhi according to age and sex

Age	*Males*	*Females*	*Sex ratio at death*
0–1	353	272	129.8
1–14	290	254	114.2
15–49	70	92	76.1
15–39	56	83	67.5
50+	101	100	101
40+	117	109	107.3
total	816	718	113.6

In general, Table 5.8 tells us what is already apparent: that the initial excess of male births is offset in later ages by the higher mortality of males. However, it is obvious that a much greater number of females died during their reproductive age in the age group (15–49), and the ratio is even higher for the subgroup 15–39, where the number of female deaths is 1.5 times the number of male ones. It is essentially the same phenomenon as the one already observed on the basis of the Ottoman material in Chapter II, a high female mortality rate due primarily to an extremely high maternal mortality.

The foregoing analysis merits at least one illustration of more human dimensions. What was it really like to be husband, wife and parent in these times of precarious health and frequent mortality? Consider, for example, one typical case of a complete family. Maria Andrea Goikova had married Miho Ghierghi Kokov on January 19, 1852 at the age of 16. Her firstborn son Petrus died within six days after his birth in April 1853. After that the couple had at least three other children (two boys and a girl), whose dates of birth are unknown since they are reconstructed by means of the confirmation register. Finally, a girl was born on the morning of August 14, 1865 and was baptized the same day receiving the name of Theresia. The child died in a week, on August 21, 1865. The mother, Maria, died a month after at the age of thirty, on September 18, 1865, most probably of complications following the childbirth. Although she died fairly young, she had behind her almost fourteen years of married life. Four months after her death, in January 1866, the husband, now a widower with three children, had remarried.

There is also the reverse case when, in a marriage of close to fifteen years, the husband Ghiorghius Ivanov Lambanski died at the age of forty on December 3, 1865. During the marriage the couple had had eight children, of whom one

died at the age of three from the smallpox, and the last one, a boy Raphael, born on August 1, 1864 lived only one day. The wife, Catherina Stoianova Somska now a widow with six small children, after observing the one year's mourning, was duly remarried to Joannis Antonov, himself a widower with five children.

Seasonal Patterns of Mortality and Causes of Death

The two *Libri mortuorum* contain 1,534 entries for the period 1833–1872 (1839 excluded). Table 5.9 presents the existing data on mortality with a breakdown according to gender. The years of epidemics are evident: 1837, 1847, 1853, 1865, 1871, and 1872. Additional notes in the registers make it possible to specify the particular epidemic diseases: for 1837 the plague; for 1847 and 1853 smallpox; for 1865 cholera; and for 1872 smallpox again, this time with particularly lethal results. The cause of the 1871 epidemic is not specified.

Table 5.9 Number of deaths in the village of Baltadzhi, 1833–1872

Year	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*	*Year*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*
1833	7	2	5	1853	55	31	24
1834	17	11	6	1854	33	23	10
1835	7	2	5	1855	39	22	17
1836	5	2	3	1856	25	12	13
1837	77	34	43	1857	33	17	16
1838	9	5	4	1858	29	16	13
1839		unknown		1859	36	21	15
1840	21	10	11	1860	26	14	12
1841	31	16	15	1861	34	12	22
1842	31	12	19	1862	45	27	18
1843	32	13	19	1863	32	14	18
1844	33	19	14	1864	38	23	15
1845	25	14	11	1865	56	32	24
1846	43	23	20	1866	43	30	13
1847	54	29	25	1867	58	30	28
1848	31	18	13	1868	61	37	24
1849	36	25	11	1869	35	17	18
1850	24	12	12	1870	56	31	25
1851	25	14	11	1871	111	54	57
1852	31	20	11	1872	150	72	78
				total	1534	816	718

In fact, only about 13% of the deceased (192 cases) have a specified cause of death. This makes it only possible to define the range of different diseases, but not their intensity. Thus, the reason for the increased mortality in 1865 can only be inferred from the two cases for which cholera is explicitly indicated.

The only list of deceased specifically attributed as a whole to an epidemic is the one for 1837, comprising 77 people out of a population at the time of around 500: *Anno 1837. Qui mortus sunt della peste.*

The plague in the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth and nineteenth century has fortunately had its great *histor* in the person of Daniel Panzac (1985). In a seminal study he managed to locate geographically the permanent as well as the temporary seats of the disease. The permanent centers were the mountains of Kurdistan and the mountain ranges between Yemen and Saudi Arabia, while the Western Balkans (the mountains of Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Epyros, Macedonia) alongside Istanbul and possibly Wallachia-Moldavia are described as the three temporary centers in European Turkey (Panzac 1985, 105–119).

While Western Europe had rid itself of the plague by the end of the seventeenth century, and Central Europe during the first decades of the eighteenth century, the disease persisted in the eastern and southeastern parts of the continent for another century, chronologically filling the time between the second and the third plague pandemics.[6]

According to the apt comparison of the author, the plague in the Ottoman Empire was like an enormous and deadly relay race, which practically never ceased, and in which virtually all inhabitants were forced to take part. This was particularly enhanced by several circumstances typical for the Levant, all of which favored the existence of fleas, the main carriers of the plague: the organization of the Near Eastern house with its abundance of rags, mattresses and pillows; the frugal amount of personal clothing which was worn almost incessantly, and among which leather clothes were especially popular; and, finally, the overall lack of hygiene (Panzac 1985, 174–194).

In the course of approximately two decades, from 1824 to 1844, the plague in the Ottoman Empire gradually disappeared (Panzac 1985, 506–509). Although this coincided with the establishment of a sanitary network, and was certainly influenced by its measures, it seems that there was at work also a natural recession in the temporary seats of the disease.

In any case, the plague of 1837, which struck Plovdiv and the adjacent region, including the Catholic villages of Baltadzhi and Seldzhikovo, was obviously one of the latest cases. In fact, judging from the contemporary press, the last manifestation of the plague in Bulgaria seems to have been 1840.

We have two comprehensive documents on the effects of the plague in the

Plovdiv region: one is the *Liber mortuorum for Baltadzhi*, the other is the *Liber status animarum* for Seldzhikovo published in Appendix II. There does not seem to be a particularly preferential age-specific or gender-specific death toll. In fact, of the 77 who died of the plague in Baltadzhi 34 were men, and 43 women, while of the 91 who perished in Seldzhikovo 46 were men and 45 women (see Appendices II, III and IV).

As for the age of the deceased, this is indicated only in the death register for Baltadzhi, but here again, the distribution follows the normal age structure of the period. In the case of the only figure which can be calculated, the infant mortality for the same village is 241.9 per mille, i.e. drastically higher than the one for adjacent years: 81.6 per mille for 1835 (the figure for 1836 is unknown), and 71.4 for 1838.

More interesting is the effect the plague epidemic had on the household structure. This can be reconstructed from the material in the *Liber status animarum* for Seldzhikovo (see, in particular, the ideographs in Appendix III). The result is summarized in table 5.10.

Table 5.10 Distribution of households in the village of Seldzhikovo

	1836		*1838*	
Categories	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
solitaries	—	—	—	—
no family	—	—	1	2.3
simple families	10	22.2	12	27.3
extended families	6	13.3	9	20.4
multiple families	29	64.4	22	50.0

Seldzhikovo's household structure is characterized by a high percentage of multiple households. However, after the plague epidemic there is a substantial fall in the relative share of multiple households to the advantage of simple and extended families, although the complex family forms (extended and multiple) still comprise over 70%.

As the plague was receding, a new epidemic made its way to Europe: cholera. From its original home in India, this new affliction spread after 1817 first to the north and east, affecting Afghanistan, Nepal, Burma, China and Japan, and then to the west, reaching Anatolia and the Caucasus in 1823 (Evans 1988, 124–125).

Cholera spread in a series of pandemics, the second of which, lasting from 1826 to 1837, afflicted Europe for the first time. The third (1841–1859), fourth (1863–1875), and fifth (1881–1896) waves affected the whole of Europe, while

the sixth (1899–1923) had only isolated appearances in Western Europe. After that time the disease has receded on a worldwide scale (Evans 1988, 125).

In our source (the death register of Baltadzhi), the effects of the second pandemic, i.e. the first to sweep across Europe, cannot be discerned, as the register started only in 1833. Cholera attacked the Ottoman Empire in 1830, swept across its European provinces in 1831, and reached Western Europe in 1832. As is well known, the first effective measures against the spread of epidemics, and the installment of quarantines in the Ottoman Empire, were triggered by the appearance of cholera (Panzac 1985, 475–483; Kaimakchieva and Yurukova-Popova 1981).

The next major outbreak of cholera in Europe had its climax in the revolutionary period 1848, and many historians have endeavored to explore the correlation between epidemic and revolution (Evans 1988, 131). It is interesting to note, however, that in the Ottoman Empire, or at least in the region of Plovdiv, the disease did not have the same disastrous consequences. In fact, the year 1848 hardly stands out on Table 5.9, although in the death register several cases are explicitly denoted as having passed away as the result of cholera (*a collera, a collera morbus*). Among others, the above-mentioned Andreas Canova wrote about the spread of cholera in the region at the end of his dispatch to the Vatican of July 27, 1848, but referred to it as "not alarming" (Tarnovaliski 1969, 209–210).

The outbreak of 1854, at the time of the Crimean war, was caused by the French troops embarking at Marseilles and Toulon for Gallipoli and Varna. As Evans notes, "this was the only known time when the disease travelled the Mediterranean from west to east" (Evans 1985, 131). The disease spread into the hinterland and persisted also through 1855, as clearly documented by the *Liber mortuorum* of Baltadzhi. The last wave to be documented in the sources hit Bulgaria in 1865 (Tarnovaliski 1969, 321–322), and afflicted Central and Western Europe during the next year. The disease swept over the entire Ottoman Empire, and was more acute in Anatolia, where the port of Smirna was hit particularly hard (Kasaba 1988, 153).

Both the plague and cholera were perceived in the folk imagination as demonic forces, sent as punishment for people's sins. The total number of the diseases afflicting humankind was believed to be 7, 12 or 77 $^{1}/_{2}$ (the half being added in cases of extremely lethal epidemics). In most cases the diseases were personified, usually represented by ugly, dirty, ragged and terrifying females. On the other hand, animal diseases were usually personified by males. In some particular cases, like that of the plague, they were said to have individual features.

The plague was an old, ugly woman dressed in a long black ragged robe who was constantly wondering around the world. She did not come for individual souls, but whenever and wherever there would be an accumulation of sinners. She was said to carry their names in a special register. These she would strike

with arrows or with a scythe. However, despite her own filth, she liked cleanliness, and would spare old people and widows. This belief accounts for the prophylaxis against the plague. Whenever word would come that the plague was approaching, people started to clean their houses in the hope of evoking her pity. Another prophylactic measure was the total abstention from sexual intercourse (Vakarelski 1977, 431–432; Marinov 1891, 110–113).

The dreaded cholera looked much like the plague. Because cholera was not as ancient a disease as the plague, her characteristics were not elaborated in such detail. There was, however, a significant difference in the popular attitudes and reactions to the two diseases. In the first place, both Muslims and Christians viewed the plague as a demonstration of God's will. The Muslims, however, unburdened by the idea of original sin and, consequently, by the idea of retribution, viewed the plague as an act of deliverance, undoubtedly a scourge, but a scourge like any other. Accordingly, their reaction was to stay and passively await their fate.

For the Christians, on the other hand, the plague was the punishment sent by God for their particular sins, it was a manifestation of God's wrath, and their primary reaction was to escape. Thus, in most cases they would leave their settlements, often for good (Panzac 1985, 295–311).

The attitude towards cholera was quite different. Not only was it less frequent and less lethal than the plague, but its very newness created a different response: disobedience, rather than the usual fatalistic resignation. This explains, among other things, the above-mentioned fact that the Ottoman government embarked on a series of sanitary measures after the appearance of this new epidemic.

There was another threatening disease whose death toll seems to be higher than that of the cholera, at least judging from the Baltadzhi register: smallpox. It is curious to note that the smallpox, alongside the other milder varieties of pox (chicken pox, German measles, etc.), was personified in the popular imagination as three sisters which, alone among the gallery of women representing different diseases, were not ugly, but usually merry and, generally, well disposed. They most frequently attacked children who, however, suffered only mildly. The only exception among the three sisters was the eldest who was the most serious and, when angry, left pockmarks (Vakarelski 1977, 432).

This more relaxed attitude can be explained not only by the milder, and nonlethal forms of pox, but also by the fact that the smallpox was one of the very few diseases against which there existed some effective prophylaxis. In general, the healing methods among the people depended upon their ideas about the causes of diseases. As the majority among them were held to be caused by demonic forces, so in their struggle against them people resorted exclusively to magic.

Excepted from magical approaches was the smallpox, against which people

during the nineteenth century in many parts of the country would practice inoculation (or ingrafting) (Vakarelski 1977, 438). It is well known that this practice existed among different peoples from ancient times, although the spread of this preventive treatment is often ascribed to Arab physicians, and particularly to Avicenna.

The widespread use of inoculation in the Ottoman Empire was common knowledge in Europe by the beginning of the eighteenth century. The author of the first publication in England describing the inoculation custom was Kennedy. In his "Essay on External Remedies" published in London in 1815, he wrote:

> This of giving or ingrafting the Small Pox was practiced in the *Peloponnesus* (now called the *Morea*), and, at this present time, is very much used both in *Turkey* and in *Persia*, where they give it in order to prevent its more dismal effects by the early knowledge of its coming, as also probably to prevent their being troubled with it a second time (Crookshank 1889, 4).

Although reportedly widespread in the Balkans and the Near East, the practice of inoculation does not seem to have been popular in the village of Baltadzhi, judging by the heavy death toll taken by the smallpox. It is impossible even to surmise whether this was due simply to ignorance, as the Catholic village population was particularly backward in this period, or to conscious abstinence from practices known among the "heretic" Orthodox. Of the 54 deceased in 1847, 19 were specifically designated as having died of the smallpox (*da vaiolo*); the same was true of 21 out of 55 in 1853. In the case of the great epidemics of 1871 and 1872 when, respectively, 111 and 150 people died, the priest did not enter the cause of death except for the last three months of 1872 (*ex vajolo*). It is only logical to conclude that the epidemic, which apparently had begun in September of 1871 and had continued unabated until the end of 1872, and possibly into the next year, was due primarily to the smallpox of a particularly severe variety.

Other diseases are also occasionally mentioned in the register. The number of their victims might actually be larger but, in any case, they were not epidemic outbreaks. Several people are said to have died of carbuncle, and another few of diphtheria, which, because of its symptoms, was described as a disease of the throat (*di gola, a glandola malattia nella gola*). There are one and two cases each of dysentery and apoplexy. One 58-year old man is described as having died of tuberculosis (*tisico*) in 1855, probably one of the first and rare manifestations of this illness, which was to become one of the main scourges alongside typhoid at the end of the century and the first decades of the twentieth. Again, several other cases do not have an exact diagnosis but are described as a long illness, or as a sudden death.

Finally, there are unnatural causes of death. Five people were killed: among

them a woman and a child by a Turk in 1857; a man in 1854 was also killed by Turks; one was killed apparently in a fight with another villager in 1856; and another in 1870 was simply described as murdered. Somebody else was overrun by a cart while coming back from the fields in 1854. All these details are given as additional notes in Italian. The only exception is a short note written with Latin characters but in Bulgarian: *padna ot cernica* ("fell from the mulberry tree").

The monthly distribution of deaths from the village of Baltadzhi from 1833 to 1872 is summarized in Table 5.11.

Table 5.11 Monthly distribution of deaths (1833–1872)

January	114	May	73	September	206
February	109	June	69	October	225
March	103	July	106	November	171
April	111	August	114	December	133
				total	1,534

The bulk of the plague and smallpox victims died in September and October, while cholera raged most severely in July and August. Apart from this, mortality would fall with the end of the difficult winter season, and increase again after the hot summer favorable for the spread of epidemics would set in.

Another factor for the increased mortality in September and October is undoubtedly the fact that these were the months with the greatest number of births. Given the high rates of infant and maternal mortality, the great number of death cases for these months is predictable.

Maternal mortality is not specified in the death register as a cause of death. Had the infant deaths immediately following birth not been undercounted, it would have been possible to establish the number of women who died because of childbirth. As it is, it is possible only to illustrate some cases from the reconstituted family files when both the mother and an older infant child would pass away, and the dates of their deaths can be juxtaposed.

For example, Joseph Ciacov from Plovdiv and his wife Maria Kokiova from Alifakovo[7] moved to Baltadzhi, apparently after their marriage which probably took place in Plovdiv as they are not entered in the marriage register of the parish. In fact, the family has been reconstituted from the entries about their children in the baptismal, the confirmation and the death registers. After giving birth to six children, of whom one died as an infant (11 months old) and another who died at an unknown age in 1871, Maria herself died at age 35, during the delivery of her seventh child, on February 6, 1872. The child, a girl, was named after her deceased mother, but survived only two months, dying on April 15,

1872. Maria's husband Joseph was left with four children. This clearly was a case of maternal mortality.

In another case, Anna Joanov Ruxina, wife of Petrus Simonov Ciorbagi Spas since January 21, 1868, gave birth to her first son after nine months, on the night of December 6, 1868. On the next day the child was baptized Salvator. He did not reach his third birthday, but died on August 23, 1871. At that time the mother was pregnant again. On October 4, 1871, she gave birth to another boy, which the family likewise baptized Salvator. This infant lived only 12 days, and the mother 25 days after the birth. In this particular case the mother could have died of birth complications, but, most likely, the mother, the newborn infant, and the two-year-old child passed away as a result of the smallpox. As has been shown, 1871, although not indicated, was a year of an epidemic, most probably the smallpox.

The above analysis of available sources attests to a population with a comparatively high crude death rate (a tentative calculation of about 27 per mille), and a particularly high infant mortality (about 227 per mille). While high, the crude death rate is far from reaching the range of 35–40 per mille typical for countries before the setting in of the demographic transition (Donkov 1979, 33). Among other countries, the crude death rate in Turkey even in the period 1935–1940 persisted at the level of 34.6 per mille (*Population* 1975, 29). On the other hand, one should be aware of the great divergence in the mortality rates among different European societies, depending on social, cultural and enviromental factors. Thus, the crude mortality rate for Sweden in the pre-transitional years 1778–1882 was 25.9 per mille (Palmore and Gardner 1983, 26). In the lowlands surrounding the Alpine region, the death rates frequently reached 35–40 per thousand. At the same time, the contrast with the rates for the Alpine region *per se* is striking. For about two centuries beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century, the crude death rates in the Alps typically ranged between 22 and 28 per thousand, and rarely exceeded 30 per thousand (Viazzo 1989, 289).

Some Bulgarian demographers already have argued that one can observe the beginnings of the demographic transition in Bulgaria in the last decade of the nineteenth century. This is based on the analysis of the mortality rates which, beginning with 1891, demonstrate a continuous downward trend (Donkov 1979, 33). The reason for the exclusion of the previous decade (1880–1890) from the analysis is the fact that the death rates, which averaged around 18 per mille, were in fact increasing until 1891. The commonly accepted explanation is the incomplete registration for the first decade after 1878 (*Demografiia* 1974, 48). Michev (1978, 23) advances also another explanation: the low mortality could have been due to a decreased birth rate which, given the high proportion of infant deaths, would affect the overall mortality. Indeed, whereas the birth rate

for the decade 1880–1889 ranged around 36 per mille, in the next decade it was around 40 per mille.

However, at the time of the first official census, the Bulgarian population was experiencing a considerable natural increase which can be explained by a lower mortality rate, given that the high birth rates for the country stayed nearly constant until 1925, with the exception of the war years (see Table 5.12) (Jackson 1985, 232, 244, 247).

Table 5.12 Population growth in Bulgaria (1881–1930)

Period	*Birth rate (per mille)*	*Death rate (per mille)*	*Natural increase (per mille)*
1881–1887	36.3	17.9	18.4
1888–1892	36.8	23.3	13.5
1893–1900	39.7	25.0	14.7
1901–1905	40.6	22.4	18.1
1906–1910	42.1	24.0	18.1
1911–1920	32.6	22.7	9.9
1921–1925	39.0	20.8	18.2
1926–1930	33.0	17.9	15.3

It seems plausible that the growth in Bulgaria's population was a slow and continuous process, which had already started in the previous decade or two. Among the factors which might explain the population increase are the general favorable economic conditions after the middle of the nineteenth century, more specifically after the end of the Crimean war, which would have diminished the effects of the subsistence crises. Also, these decades saw the disappearance of, or successful struggle against, some of the most lethal epidemics (the plague and the cholera).[8] However, the drop in the death rate should in no way be overestimated. There was practically no medical system until 1878, and the reports of officials of the sanitary services installed in the newly liberated country after that date attest to the fact that until the end of the 1920s the rural population systematically avoided any contact with the official medical establishment (Vakarelski 1977, 436–437). It is no wonder that, although there was a slow continuous decrease in the mortality rate for several decades, the drastic drop occurred only after the 1920s.

Finally, a question of prime importance is the effect that this particular regime of mortality, and altogether the demographic preconditions, had on the type of family and household characteristic for the region. These and related questions are the object of the next chapters.

Notes

1 Among the documents included in the recent acquisition from the Chief management of the archives (*Glavno upravlenie na arkhivite),* there is a folio with entries of death for the village of Baltadzhi (and occasionally from Plovdiv, Kalascli and Duvanlia). It covers the period from March, 1792 until June of the same year, and has 32 entries (33 dead). This appears to be the oldest surviving fragment of a parish register. It is kept in the directorate *Istorichesko nasledstvo (Historical heritage).* For other registers of the eighteenth century which have already been mentioned in the literature see Appendix II.

2 The figure for Baltadzhi in 1842 (579 people) is probably incorrect. A doubling of the population in one parish cannot have been overlooked and subsequently have remained unreported in the otherwise detailed dispatches of Andreas Canova. Also, calculating the birth and death rates on the basis of this population number arrives at unrealistic figures.

3 The next death register, as can be seen in Appendix I, is being kept in the village church of Baltadzhi. The gradual microfilming and processing of the data from the Catholic registers is being planned.

4 The higher IMR for the towns in 1920 is an exception to the rule of a higher rural IMR. It probably reflects post-war urban conditions.

5 However, the ones explicitely stated as 30 days are entered in the next column: 28 days to 1 year.

6 The first pandemic is considered to be the so-called Justinian plague of the sixth-seventh centuries; the second comprises the period between the fourteenth and the eighteenth centuries; while the third began at the end of the nineteenth century in regions not hitherto contaminated.

7 The village of Alifakovo (Falifakovo), renamed in 1934 to Andranikovo, and in 1943 to Parchevich, is nowadays a quarter of the town of Rakovski, comprised of the three former villages of Baltadzhi, Calascli and Alifakovo.

8 An analogous conclusion about the beginning of the transition to a new mortality regime, and a restructuring of the causes and age-profiles of deaths after the middle of the nineteenth century has been reached on the basis of the analysis of age-specific growth rates (Botev 1989).

VI
FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND STRUCTURE

A variety of approaches and criteria (anthropological, sociological, juridical, economical, etc.) have brought about an ambivalence in the treatment of these key notions. This is particularly so in the case of the family, where the traditional ambivalence of the notion of family is reflected in its treatment as a kinship network, on one hand, and on the other, as a household entity (Mitterauer 1984, 6).

The 1972 volume of the Cambridge group on *Household and Family in Past Time* insisted on an important distinction between family and household, namely the fact, that the domestic group might include nonrelatives. In certain instances this might become too rigorous an approach, especially when ideas like the consciousness of belonging to a family are introduced (Mitterauer 1984, 6–8), but, by and large, this distinction is widespread.

On the other hand household presents less serious problems, its strict definition is a prerequisite for making "meaningful statistical comparisons of household size and composition between cultures and across centuries" (Hajnal 1983, 99). It is described as the housekeeping or consumption unit, a definition used in the majority of modern censuses. Its major characteristics are co-residence and shared consumption, although some authors insist on work as the central criterion for the description of a family or household (Mitterauer 1984, 7).

What interests us in this particular study is how notions like the family, the household, the house, the hearth have been reflected, if at all, in the sources under investigation. The problem that Bulgaria and the Balkans presents is the existence of a variety of multilingual sources. It is extremely difficult to define the exact meaning of a notion in one type of source, let alone correlate it to corresponding terms in sources of a different character or a different language.

Ottoman sources throughout the vast period of their existence employed one key notion in their statistics—the *hane*. Its literal meaning, derived from Persian, is house or home. The Ottoman registers used the term *hane* as a fiscal unit, in fact as *the* fiscal unit. As the Ottoman documentation has given no direct and unequivocal definition of the *hane*,[1] its interpretation has been the subject of many studies and numerous efforts to establish its numerical equivalent. Most

authors treat the *hane* as a taxable unit, based on the solvency of a person or of a group of persons (Barkan 1964, 5–7; Göyünç 1979; Grozdanova 1972, 90). However, it is difficult to agree with the suggestion of the last author, that *over the course of time* the term was *gradually* estranged from its initial meaning and was transformed into a taxable unit designating a certain share of the total tax. In fact, already in the first centuries of Ottoman domination the term *hane* was partly or completely divorced from its etymological meaning, and it is impossible to follow up consistent stages in the evolution of the term over time.

The analyses of several *timar* (the cadastre) and *cizye* (poll-tax) registers from the fifteenth century show that the term *hane* referred solely to a married man (*çiftlu*); widows and young men who had come of age, but were still unmarried, were designated differently: *as bive* and *mücerred,* respectively (*Turski izvori* 1964, 21–60; *Turski izvori* 1966, 53–103; Grozdanova 1989, 60–61). This could lead to the conclusion that by the fifteenth century, for purposes of taxation, the *hane* was partly divorced from its concrete physical meaning. In fact, families in which the widow was acting as head of a household living in a separate house were obviously not treated as *hane*. On the other hand, young unmarried men who might still live, and most probably were still living with their parents, were treated separately from the *hane* represented by their father, the head of the family. This is true for the *hane* of the *timar* registers, comprising the whole population, as well as for the so-called *cizye hane*, i.e. the *hane* serving as the basis for the collection of the poll-tax from the non-Muslim population.

As far as other types of *hane* were concerned, for example, the *hane* in the *avariz* registers (used for extraordinary taxes, such as the *avariz* and the *nüzul*), or in the *tevzi* registers (most probably used to locally redistribute the taxes), such *hane* were often but not always[2] estranged from the original meaning, i.e., the house (Ursinus 1980; McGowan 1981). All attempts at establishing their size have shown that they varied significantly depending on the region, the time period, and the type and status of the taxable population. The number of taxable adults calculated on the basis of these latter types of *hane* would vary from 3 to 15 (McGowan 1981, 106). The above-mentioned diversities suggest that, as a general rule, the term *hane* should not be translated, but its particular connotation interpreted in each single case.

As regards the sources, used in this study, the nineteenth century population registers (*nüfus defterleri*) clearly used the term *hane* as a synonym for household, regardless of whether it consisted of a simple, extended or multiple family. Thus, it regained its original and literal meaning of home or house accommodating a family. This can be easily proven because the registers are essentially nominal lists, in our particular case comprising women and children as well, and disclose all the variety of existing family forms. Nominal lists are particularly valuable in the case of the interpretation of hearth as either a fiscal unit or a

household (Higounet-Nadal 1984, 247). The same is true for the *cizye hane*. The term *hane* was used in the *cizye* registers until the end of the seventeenth century. In 1691 a reform was introduced in the taxing system—the administration would change the heretofore existing system of collecting the *cizye* on a collective basis, i.e., on the basis of the *hane*, to a system under which it resorted to the individual collection of the tax from all non-Muslim males of age (usually between the ages of 15 and 75). They were divided into three categories, according to their wealth—rich, middle and poor (Inalcik 1968; Hadzibegic 1966).

The reform has led some scholars to view 1691 as a watershed year in taxation practices. The ensuing interpretation of *cizye* figures has led at least one of them to conclude that there was a demographic catastrophe during the seventeenth century (McGowan 1981, 83–85) although this view has been challenged (Todorova 1988).

However, it is clear from the analysis of the *cizye* registers before the reform, that *hane* was identified with the married household head (Grozdanova 1989, 60–61), i.e., represented the greater part of the existing households (widow's households excluded). The reform of 1691 could have been introduced, in order to forestall a tendency on the part of the tax-paying population to dissimulate. Thus, it would secure the payment of taxes from fathers and brothers of the household head, who could otherwise "hide" within the realm of an extended *hane*. The sons who had come of age could not dissimulate. They were being taxed as *mücerred* (bachelors).

The nineteenth century *cizye* registers continued the individual taxation. In these registers, as can be seen from a *cizye* register of the middle of the nineteenth century from the town of Varna, the first column shows the consecutive number of the *hane,* the second—the number of the taxable person. Clearly, the *hane* coincided with a real household. That the *hane* does not stand for a fictitious fiscal unit can be deducted from a closer scrutiny of the document. This particular register was a copy of an earlier, more detailed one, and follows its enumeration. Whenever some *hane* or a person would be missing (because of death or emigration), this was reflected in the new register, but the old enumeration was kept intact. Thus, for example, *hane* # 4 of the townsquarter Varoglu had two members: # 1 Hadzhi Yanko, son of Fori, and # 4, his son-in-law Saveli, son of Dimitri. Numbers 2 and 3 were missing (Todorova 1980, 180). They had most probably belonged to the sons of Hadzhi Yanko, who had left the household. The same is true for *hane* # 133, where the consecutive numbers of the members are 1, 2, 6 and 7, and for numerous other cases (36 in all for this particular townsquarter) (Todorova 1980, 185). It can be concluded, that for the nineteenth century, and in the concrete context of the Ottoman sources used in this study, *hane* coincides with a household.

Venetian sources have been used as an illustration on the size of the family

and the household (Panayotopoulos 1983; Stoianovich 1980). Panayotopoulos, who analyzed the Venetian census of the Peloponnesus for the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, reflected on the possible objection that the small size of the family merely reflected administrative practices at that time: i.e., that the registered family structure was an artifact and that, in fact, the big families existed, but were broken up for the record. The author refuted this interpretation, stressing that it was the solidarity of existing small families and kin which conveyed the illusion of complex family forms (Panayotopoulos 1983, 16).

One could extend Panayotopoulos's argument by adding that, were the tendency of breaking up big families for administrative purposes indeed part of the Venetian practice, this would necessarily be reflected also in Stoianovich's material. There, however, as is to be seen later, the presence of the extended family households remains beyond doubt.

Another question which received special attention was the relation between family and house as reflected in the terminology used in the source material. In this case Panayotopoulos used the information of the Venetian cadastre of 1698, which covered 20 districts in the territory of Kalamata, comprising 615 families (*famigliae*). These 615 families lived in 517 tile-roofed houses (*case di copi*) and 98 thatched-roofed houses (*case di paglia),* thus permitting a perfect identification of family and house (Panayotopoulos 1983, 16).

As regards the *Liber status animarum* of the Catholic village of Seldhikovo, although it does not use any specific term, it is clear that the separate units reflect houses, consequently households. We are not introducing the distinction between household (including "spouse, child, relative, and servant of the head") and houseful (including "other residents such as unrelated boarders, visitors and inmates") (Wall 1983, 35; Laslett and Clarke 1972). As can be demonstrated, there was practically no distinction between the two for the period under investigation, or, at least, according to the available sources.

There is no domestic group of the houseful type among the 529 *hane* from the *nüfus defterleri* of Northeastern Bulgaria. There are none among the villagers of Seldzikovo, as well. The *cizye* register of the town of Varna from the middle of the nineteenth century comprises altogether 932 *hane.* Among them only 15 have "lodgers"; one *hane* has, alongside the head, a grown-up man, described as "orphan," who most probably falls in the category of the "lodgers" (Todorova 1982, 165–202).

Even smaller is the number of subsidiary groups, such as servants, apprentices, laborers and others, which would distinguish household from family in the strict sense of the word. There was only one apprentice and one servant co-residing with the family of the head of the household in Varna, and we will never know whether they were not related. Three of the Varna *hane* and two of the Seldzikovo houses had adopted sons.

In conclusion, it can be assumed that the sources used in this study reflect real social entities, and not an artifact. For the purposes of this chapter family and household are used as synonyms (respectively, family and household size and structure, as used in the section headings). However, in a stricter sense, it is the household, or the family-household, which is being analyzed.[3]

Family and Household Structure

The classification proposed by Laslett (Laslett and Wall 1972), and to which most scholars of the European family adhere, is applicable to the Balkan region. The types he proposes are identifiable from the sources and are suited to the evidence from other European regions. This certainly should not mean that this classification is the only point of departure in comparative studies: there are many other kinds of culturally valid structures, such as age at marriage, age at birth of first and last child, frequency of remarriage, and many others. However, for the purposes of comparison based on household size and structure, Laslett's typology[4] seems to be the most useful and widely accepted to date.

Table 6.1 compares households in different European regions according to their structure. The data on Elmdon, Essex, England, 1861 (115 households), Grossenmeer, Germany, 1785 (142 households), on Fagagna, Italy, 1670 (353 households), and on Krasnoe Sobakino, Mishino estate, Russia, 1849 (45 households) have served as the factual basis illustrating the four sets of tendencies in domestic group organization in the fourfold model of the European family (Laslett 1983, 516–531). The data from the Balkans, which have been processed according to the Laslett classification, come from three areas: Belgrade, Serbia in 1733 (106 households); Northeastern Bulgaria in the 1860s; and a village in Southern Bulgaria in 1836–1838. The Northeast Bulgarian data comprise information on the structure of 522 households (391 urban and 131 rural) (CMNL/OD: TL 15/5; SI 30/4; f.179, a.e. 3369; BD 9/5). The Catholic village of Seldzhikovo, on the other hand, is represented by only 45 households for 1836, and 44 households for 1838 (GODA-Plovdiv, Fond # 398 k, op.1, a.e.12, 1818–1838). These data are included because of the uniqueness of the source—the only *Liber status animarum* thus far discovered in Bulgaria.[5] It covers only two years, before and after a plague epidemic.

Finally, data are available on the Christian population of a whole town from the middle of the nineteenth century: 932 households in Varna. They are not included in table 6.1, because they come from a *cizye* register listing only taxable males (in this particular case, over the age of 12), and consequently cannot be processed strictly according to the Laslett table. However, these data are analyzed separately, and the results are added to corroborate the general trend.

Table 6.1 Distribution of households by categories (percentages)

Categories: 1. Solitaries
2. No family
3. Simple family households
4. Extended family households
5. Multiple family households
6. Undetermined

Category	*Elmdon, England* 1861	*Ealing, England* 1861	*Longuenesse, France* 1778	*Grossenmeer, Germany* 1785	*Colorno, Italy* 1782
1	6.1	6	1	1.4	8
2	7.0	5	6	0.7	0
3	73.0	67	76	68.3	73
4	12.2	19	14	19.7	9
5	1.7	2	3	9.9	11
6	—	1	—	—	—
	100.0	100	100	100.0	100

Category	*Bologna area, 1853* all	mezzadri	*Fagagna, Trieste region* 1870	*Kölked, Hungary* 1816	*Perbal, Hungary* 1747	*Belgrade, Serbia* 1733
1	2.6*	—	5.9	—	1	2
2		—	2.6	—	1	2
3	61.0	41.6	48.4	47	85	67
4	12.7	11.9	15.0	13	6	15
5	22.1	46.2	28.1	36	5	14
6	1.6	0.3	—	4	2	—
	100.0	100	100	100	100	

* This figure is for both categories 1 and 2.

Category	*Northeastern, Bulgaria* 1860s	*Seldzhikovo, Bulgaria* 1836	1838	*Karuse, Estonia* 1872	*Krasnoe Sobakino, Russia* 1849
1	4	—	—	—	—
2	1	—	2.3	—	—
3	67	22.2	27.3	48.0	13.3
4	16	13.3	20.4	13.2	6.7
5	12	64.4	50.0	38.8	80.0
6	—	—	—	—	—
	100	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Data on Ealing, 1861; Longuenesse, 1778; Belgrade, 1733, Japan, 1713; Bristol, 1689: Laslett and Wall 1972, 85. On Elmdon, 1861; Krasnoe Sobakino, 1849; Grossenmeer, 1785; Bologna, 1853; Fagagna, 1870; Karuse,1782; Perbal, 1747, Kölked, 1816: Wall, Robin and Laslett 1983, 213, 293, 518–524. On Bulgaria, 1860s: Todorova 1983, 70–71. On Seldhikovo, 1836–1838: GODA-Plovdiv, Fond 398 k (1818–1838).

If we choose the data from Serbia and from Northeastern Bulgaria as illustrative for the region, then the distribution of the Balkan households according to categories is mostly in agreement with the data for Germany and Italy. These countires' societies are characterized by predominance of simple-family households, alongside a substantial proportion of extended-family and multiple-family households. The English (and, to a lesser extent, the French) data clearly stand apart with their comparatively high proportion of solitaries and no family households on one hand, and, on the other, the practical absence of multiple-family households. These particular Balkan data stand in sharp contrast to the ones chosen to illustrate other parts of Eastern Europe (Estonia and Russia), with their huge predominance of complex family households.

If one were to cast an eye on the detailed picture of the Northeastern Bulgarian data, so as to distinguish between rural and urban areas, as well as between different ethnic groups, it becomes clear from Table 6.2 that, on the whole, the distribution of the households follows the same pattern. One curious detail is the bigger proportion of multiple households among the Muslims in the cities, in comparison to the Christian town dwellers and the Muslim immigrants in the villages.

Let us finally add the data from the five townsquarters (*mahalle*) of Varna. As has already been suggested, the character of the source makes it impossible to render the information in a form immediately comparable to Table 6.1. Certain plausible assumptions have been made, though, in order to process the data by using some of the basic categories, such as simple, extended and multiple family. First, all single entries under a household are assumed to be simple families. Obviously, among them solitaries or no family domestic groups might be encountered, but given the overall trends in Bulgaria, it is believed, that their number would be negligible. Further, it has been assumed that all persons below the age of 18 are unmarried. Thus, a father with one or more sons below this age has been treated as a simple family.

Second, it has been assumed that all persons over age 25 are married. Thus, any combination of two or more males over 25 has been treated as a complex family. Complex families are, naturally, also the ones for which the information is unambiguous (for example, the case of a 59-year-old head of household and his 20-year-old son-in-law) (Todorova 1982, 170).

Next, all combinations with persons between the ages of 18 and 25, depending on whether they were or were not married, fall into either one of the three categories.

Accordingly, the household distribution of Varna can be depicted as illustrated in Table 6.3.

The predominance of the simple family households (over 67%) is obvious, even if we assume that all ambiguous cases are extended or multiple families. In fact, the disribution corresponds to the one for the Balkan region (the village of Seldzhikovo excepted) from Table 6.1.

Table 6.2 Distribution of households by categories (Bulgarian data, 1860's)

Category of household		*Muslim-towns*		*Christian-towns*		*Muslim-villages*	
		N	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
1. Single	a) widowers	0	3	1	6	0	1
	b) celibates or undetermined	5		12		1	
2. Households without familial structure	a) related co-residents	2	1	1	1	1	1
	b) co-residents linked otherwise	0		0		0	
	c) individuals without apparent links	0		0		0	
3. Simple family households	a) married couples	14	60	14	73	9	69
	b) married couple with children	78		105		71	
	c) widowers with children	3		5		4	
	d) widows with children	16		26		7	
4. Extended family households	a) ascendant	19	16	15	12	9	21
	b) descendant	2		0		0	
	c) collateral	7		7		15	
	d) ascendant and collateral	2		3		4	
5. Multiple family households	a) secondary ascendant nucleus	9	20	6	8	3	8
	b) secondary descendant nucleus	19		6		6	
	c) collateral nuclei	4		3		0	
	d) frérèches	6		1		1	
	e) others	0		0		0	
6. Households with undetermined structure		0		0		0	
total		186	100	205	100	131	100

Table 6.3 Household categories in Varna (mid-nineteenth century)

Townsquarter:	*Kalchooglu*		*Mitropolit*		*Varoglu*	
household type	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Simple	141	72.31	92	66.19	143	63.84
Simple, extended, or complex	12	6.15	11	7.91	14	6.25
Extended	5	2.57	1	0.72	7	3.13
Extended or complex	13	6.67	9	6.47	27	12.05
Complex	24	12.30	26	18.71	33	14.73
total	195	100.00	139	100.00	224	100.00

Townsquarter:	*Mityo*		*Armenian*		*Varna (5 mahalle)*	
household type	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Simple	174	72.20	78	58.65	628	67.38
Simple, extended or complex	9	3.73	9	6.77	55	5.90
Extended	7	2.91	2	1.50	22	6.87
Extended or complex	13	5.39	15	11.28	77	8.26
Complex	38	15.77	29	21.80	150	16.09
total	241	100.00	133	100.00	932	100.00

It has been argued recently that counting of the number of adults per household is a more satisfactory measure of household composition, as it provides a more accurate reflection on the function of the household as an economic unit (Wall 1983, 6). The information of several selected European communities has been juctaposed with the corresponding data on Varna on Table 6.4. As there is no information on females, the basis of the comparison must be derived from the male population. The age of "adults of prime working age" has been accepted, as used by R. Wall, to mean individuals between the ages of 20 and 59 (Wall 1983, 41).

First, the Bulgarian data have a very small proportion of households without males of prime working age. Even among them, the proportion of households with males over 59 is negligible. This reflects existing social and cultural patterns, whereby the elderly almost invariably reside in extended and complex households. More often are encountered households with males younger than 20. These are quite most likely widow's households, in which the father has only recently passed away. For example, the entry for a typical household of this kind from the Varna *cizye* register is as follows (Todorova 1982, 170):

The father, Dimitri, recently died, and had not entered in the new register; however, the enumeration follows the old one, and the sons were still entered as numbers 2 and 3.

Hane #	Person's #	Name	Age	Category
14	2	son Parashkeva, son of Dimitri	16	poor
	3	other son Vassil, son of Dimitri	12	poor

Second, according to the proportion of households with one male between the ages of 20 and 59, the Bulgarian data conform to the ones from Western and Central Europe (Belgium, France, Austria).

Third, the same can be said about the households containing two or more members of prime working age. The overwhelming majority among them have exactly two males between 20 and 59, whereas only 4% of the households have three and, exceptionally, four members.[6] Again, these data stand in sharp contrast to the ones from Russia and Latvia, which is to be explained, most probably, by the different systems of land owning and management.

Table 6.4 Number and proportion of households with given number of adult males

Country	Locality	Date	Total household number	Population of households with males 20–59 (%) none	1	≥2
England	Ealing	1599	85	25	55	20
	Clayworth	1851	136	28	59	13
	Elmdon	1861	11	24	71	5
Belgium	Lampernisse	1814	66	20	48	32
France	Longuenesse	1778	66	12	62	26
Austria	Obergrafendorf	1787	290	12	60	28
Serbia	Belgrade	1733–34	106	16	51	33
Latvia	Baldohn	1797	104	0	2	98
Russia	Krasnoe Sobakino	1849	44	0	11	89
Japan	Nishinomiia	1713	132	11	42	47
Bulgaria	Varna	≈1850	932	4	67	29

Adapted from Wall 1983, 42, the Bulgarian data are added.

Based on the existing data from Serbia and Northeastern Bulgaria (Varna inclusive), it appears that the Southeastern European area belongs to the large European region, with a predominance of nuclear family households. The frequency of multiple families, in particular, is higher than in Northwestern Europe, but close to their respective occurrence in Central and Southern Europe. The incidence is certainly much lower than in Eastern Europe.

However, one should beware of overdrawn conclusions. Take instead, as a basis of comparison the data from the village of Seldzhikovo. With the great

number of extended and multiple families, they are closer to the data representing Eastern Europe (Estonia and Russia), but also to the data from the *mezzadri* (sharecroppers) in Italy or from Kölked in Hungary.

From the Seldzhikovo data, one can also observe another phenomenon. Of the 45 households, there are 7 couples of households and a group of three households which appear closely related.[7] Moreover, they apparently live in the immediate vicinity, since with one exception the households bear consecutive numbers. Clearly, what is in place is a kinship network outside the house, a phenomenon which has aptly been labeled a "modified extended family structure," an entity noted in many parts of the world (Demos 1970; Greven 1970; Smith, D.S. 1979).

The data from a typical *zadruga* settlement, such as Orašac in Central Serbia, are more in agreement with the Estonian and Russian figures, than with the ones from Belgrade or from Northeastern Bulgaria. Although not elaborated in detail along the lines of the Laslett typology, the figures published by J. M. Halpern and B. Kerewski-Halpern for Orašac in 1863 provide valid grounds for comparison. Thus, nuclear households in this Serbian village represented a total of 31%, while extended and multiple families, taken together, accounted for 64%. Among the latter, fraternal family units of the *frérèche*[8] type constituted 13% (Halpern and Kerewski-Halpern 1972, 28).

The case of the Balkans being closer to the East European model would be strengthened if only one could argue in favor of the representativeness of the data. In the Russian case (45 households altogether), the argument has been advanced, that this settlement and the ensuing patterns are typical for the whole region because of the existence of serfdom (Hajnal 1983, 91–92). Wall questions this assumption, by introducing the concept of "long standing norms of behavior to which all sections of society bowed as they accepted them implicitly" (1983, 43, 62–63).

Wall's argument, however, is impossible to apply to the Balkans as a whole (with the exception of Croatia and Romania where serfdom did exist), and certainly cannot be applied to the Bulgarian area. Moreover, as is explained in the next section on household size, the data from Seldzhikovo can hardly be said to be representative of the adjacent region.

Instead, at best, Table 6.1 is a good illustration of the fair amount of interregional variation in Europe. This is amplified in the table by the cases of Bulgaria, of Italy, and of Hungary (Andorka and Faragó 1983; Morvay 1965; Andorka 1976; Gunda 1982).

On the other hand, a comparison with the sets of tendencies in domestic group organization in the fourfold regional European model indicates Bulgaria as closest to the Southern type (see Table 6.5). This is especially true with such criteria as the occasion and method of domestic group formation. In this case, itshould be noted that there is agreement also between the data from the different Bulgarian regions.

Table 6.5. Sets of tendencies in domestic group organization in traditional Europe—Four regions and Bulgaria

Overall criterion	*Sets 1 and 2 Northerst and Western*		*Sets 3 and 4 Southern and Eastern*		
	1 West	*2 West-Central (Middle)*	*3 Mediterranean*	*4 East*	*Bulgaria*
Occasion and method of domestic group formation	*Elmdon*	*Grossenmeer*	*Fagagna*	*Krasnoe Sobakino*	*Northeast Seldzikovo*
a 1 Formed at marriage of household head	Always	Usually	Seldom	Never	Seldom
a 2 Formed by fission or fusion of existent household(s)	Never	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	Frequent
a 3 Marriage important to household formation	Always	Usually	(Seldom)	Never	Seldom
a 4 Takeover of existent household by new head	Occasional	Frequent	Frequent	Usual	Frequent
Procreational and demographic criteria					
b 1 Age at marriage, female	High	High	Low	Low	Low
b 2 Age at marriage, male	High	High	High	Low	Low (rural) High (urban)
b 3 Proportions marrying	Low	Low	High	High	High
b 4 Age gap between spouses at first marriage	Narrow	Narrow	Wide	Narrow	Narrow (rural) Wide (urban)
b 5 Proportion of wives older than husbands	High	Very high	Low	High	Low
b 6 Proportion of widows remarrying	High	Very high	Very low	Very low	High (rural) Low (urban)

Criteria of kin composition of groups						
c 1 Proportion of resident kin	Very low	Low	High	High	High	High
c 2 Proportion of multigenerational households	Low	Low	High	Very high	High	High
c 3 Proportion of households headed by never-married women	High	High	(Low)	High	(Low)	(Low)
c 4 Proportion of solitaries	Very high	High	Low	Absent	Low	Absent
c 5 Proportion of no-family households	High	High	Low	Absent	Low	Absent
c 6 Proportion of simple family households	High	High	Low	Low	High	Low
c 7 Proportion of extended-family households	Quite high	High	Low	Low	Quite high	High
c 8 Proportion of multiple-family households	Very low	Low	High	Very high	Very low	High
c 9 Proportion of complex-family households (*c7* + *c8*)	Very low	Low	High	Very high	Very low	High
c 10 Proportion of *frérèches*	Absent	Low	Very high	High	Low	Low
c 11 Proportion of stem-family households	Very low	High	Low	Low	High	High
c 12 Proportion of joint-family households	Absent	Low	Very high	Very high	Low	High

Adapted from Peter Laslett, "Family and household as work group and kin group," in Richard Wall (ed.), *Family Forms in Historic Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

The pattern is also close to the Southern type in the second set of criteria—procreational and demographic behavior. In the latter case there are two important nuances. One is the low age of marriage of the male rural population, which is more typical of the East European model; the other is the comparatively high proportion of rural widows remarrying, a fact which singularly distinguishes the Balkan pattern from both the Mediterranean and the East European regions.

In the case of the next set of criteria (the kin composition of groups), the interregional variation of the Bulgarian data points to parallels with the West-Central (or Middle), the Mediterranean and the East European pattern. The high proportion of resident kin and of multigenerational households, on one hand, and on the other, the low proportion of solitaries or no-family households is something shared with both the Mediterranean and the East European models.

The proportion of the different household types, in particular, the combination between a high frequency of simple family households, a high frequency of extended households, and a comparatively high frequency of stem-family households[9], makes the data from Northeastern Bulgaria (both urban and rural households) closest to the West-Central or Middle pattern. The Seldzhikovo data, on the other hand, follow mostly the East European pattern with several important nuances: a reverse frequency of *frérèches* and stem-family household, and a higher frequency of extended family-households in the Bulgarian case.

Family and Household Size

Household size is another criterion used to characterize the type of households in different regions. For a long time, the dominant stereotype had been one of large households being the norm in traditional societies. However, quantitative research, especially in the case of aggregate data for large regions, indicated a small average size of the household, usually of the order of five persons per household (Hajnal 1983, 65).

In Ottoman studies, the first to use the coefficient five for the average size of the household was Ö. L. Barkan, who attempted to calculate the absolute number of the sixteenth century Ottoman population. Given that he used fiscal sources, based on the taxable unit *hane*, he needed to establish its average size. Regrettably, as he himself noted, this coefficient was based on assumptions, rather than on unequivocal evidence (Barkan 1955, 293).

A number of local studies, undertaken in the following decades, disclosed deviations in the positive or negative directions. Thus, an analysis of 1592 households from monastery registers in Bulgaria for the period 1300–1325, undertaken by N. Kondov, revealed that up to 80% of the households comprised one to five members (Kondov 1985, 78–79).

Similar were the findings of E. A. Hammel from the fourteenth century list of the Khilandar monastery in Mt. Athos, where 82% of the households were nuclear (Hammel 1980, 260–261). In another work which compared several medieval listings from the fourteenth century (the monasteries of Sveti Stefan, Decani, and Khilandar), Ottoman data from the sixteenth century, and Serbian statistics from the nineteenth century Hammel noted, "Households of nuclear family organization are never less than 40 percent of the total and … nuclear family organization reaches a level of 82 percent" (Hammel 1975, 148). Significantly, the incidence of complex family forms was highest in the data from the nineteenth century.

Data from the registers of the Venetian administration in Dalmatia and the archives of Dubrovnik, processed by Traian Stoianovich, revealed that during the 1670s the average rural family of the Republic of Dubrovnik consisted of less than five members (4.975). The size was even smaller for Dalmatia's islands—4.894 (Stoianovich 1980, 191).

Only a few years later, as a result of the severe drought and bad harvest, several thousand people migrated from the interior of Dalmatia to the borderlands of the Austrian and the Ottoman Empires. The average emigrating household included over 10 members, ranging from 4.6 to 14.9, depending upon the various regions (Stoianovich 1980, 189–190).

Another set of data, used by V. Panayotopoulos, came from the Venetian register of the Peloponnesus for the year 1700. This record included 26 districts of the Peloponnesus with a population of 176,767, comprising 175,364 family members and 1,403 unmarried persons. A total of 43,361 families were registered, which account for an average family size of 4.04 members (Panayotopoulos 1983, 7). Panayotopoulos supplemented this information with data from a list of newcomers to the Peloponnesus during the 1690s. These people came from Continental Greece and the Greek islands in response to Venice's promise to grant them land. Altogether, 254 families moved into the Achaea province and their average size amounted to only 2.9 members, reflecting the large number of one-member households and the absence of complex households (Panayotopoulos 1983, 12). It is possible that the immigrant status of these families could account for their small size, but then, it could be the picture of a population characterized by small households. As the above example from Dalmatia shows, emigrating households from the interior preserved their structure and size.

Stoianovich's data from the beginning of the nineteenth century revealed that the average size of the Montenegrin household was about 9.3, and those from the middle of the nineteenth century indicated an average of 12.2 for some parts of Bosnia and the Herzegovina. The average Orthodox household included 14.8 members, the Catholic, 13.2, and the Muslim, 9.3 (Stoianovich 1980, 191–193).

Similarly, the first Hungarian census of 1787 indicated an average household for Croatia of 8.33 persons per household, with that number rising to 10.6 for some Croatian counties (Hajnal 1983, 91–92).

These latter data probably gave rise to the assumption that these big and complex households were not only characteristic for the regions or localities under investigation, but should be extrapolated for the whole of Southeastern Europe, particularly for its Slavic inhabitants.

Let us finally take a look at the Bulgarian material from the nineteenth century. The distribution of the households from the Northeastern Bulgarian region according to size is illustrated on Figure 6.1. Most representative were five-member households, followed by three-, four-, and six-member households. Solitary households, as well as households of ten and more members, were the exception, the highest household size encountered being 14.

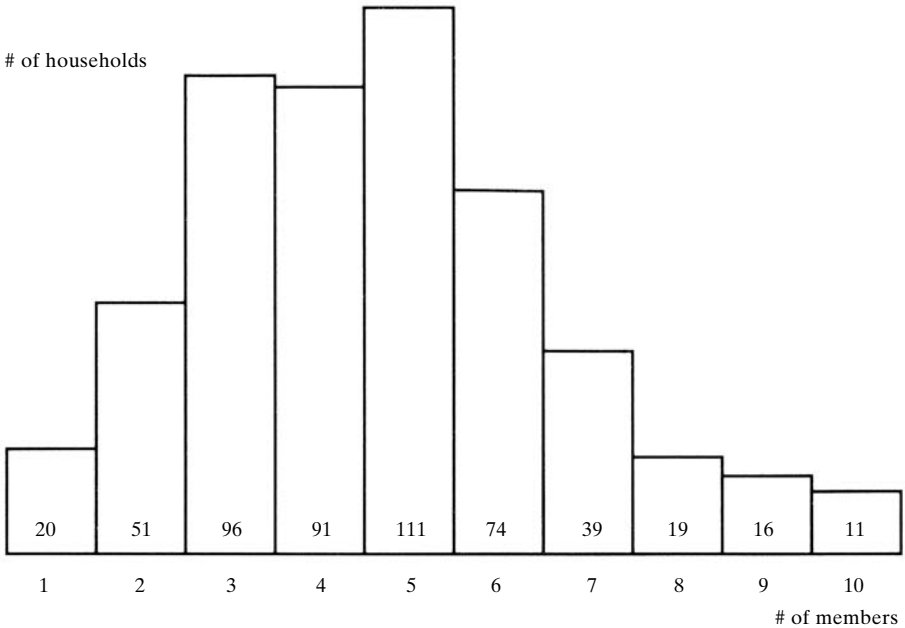


Figure 6.1 Distribution of households according to size

The data on the size of the households can be further elaborated, in order to establish the average size of the household for different groups. The results of the calculations are summarized in Table 6.6.

The distribution of the households according to size, religion and setting (urban or rural) in comparison with analogous data from England and Norway is presented in Table 6.7. In all cases the emphasis is on the relatively small

Table 6.6 Average household size

	Muslim (towns) 1860s	*Christian (towns) 1860s*	*Muslim (villages) 1860s*
Population number	870	900	682
Household number	186	205	138
Average size	4.68	4.39	4.94
Dispersion	5.40	4.20	5.58
Median	5	4	5
Mode	5	3	5
Range	1–14	1–10	1–13

household—about five members. The absence of single households among the Bulgarian and Norwegian rural households is impressive. These particular Bulgarian data display an insignificant proportion of large rural households (over ten members). But the large households, characteristic of the Norwegian population in 1801, can be explained primarily by the substantial number of subsidiary groups (Hajnal 1983, 65).

Table 6.7 Distribution of households by size (by percentage)

Number of members	*Christian towns*	*Muslim towns*	*Muslim villages*	*England 1881 urban households*	*Norway 1801 rural households*
1	6.8	2.6	0.7	6.0	0.1
2	10.2	9.6	8.7	13.3	8.1
3	21.0	16.6	15.9	16.2	12.9
4	17.1	16.1	18.8	17.1	16.3
5	16.6	25.2	21.7	14.1	16.5
6	12.2	17.2	12.3	10.6	13.4
7	7.8	3.2	12.3	8.3	10.9
8	5.4	2.1	2.9	6.1	7.6
9	2.4	2.7	4.3	3.4	4.9
10	0.5	3.7	2.2	4.8	9.2

On the other hand, as with the household structure, the figures for the Catholic village of Seldzhikovo are more in accordance with the data from Russia, or from other Balkan regions with big households (see Table 6.8) (Czap 1983, 123).

As already pointed out, it would be farfetched to generalize for the whole adjacent region on the basis of the Seldzhikovo data. For example, in 1877 a British consular official, W. L. Stoney, as a result of inquiries from London, sur-

Table 6.8 Average household size

	Catholic village (Seldzhikovo)		*Mishino estate*	
	1836	*1838*	*1831*	*1834*
Population number	425	376	1425	1398
Household number	45	44	152	164
Average size	9.4	8.5	9.3	8.5
Median	10	9	9	9
Mode	11/12/13	10	8	8
Range	2–30	2–29	2–21	1–20
Percentage of households of 9 or more	55.5	52.3	68.1	57.3
Percentage of households of 15 or more	8.9	4.5	15.0	14.0

veyed 55 Bulgarian villages in the same Plovdiv region, in order to gauge the size of the Bulgarian family. He reported that 50 622 individuals were living in 10,110 families, which indicates an average of 5.007 members per family (Karpat 1985, 10; Karpat 1987, 137–145). Similarly, the figures from a Turkish Muslim village in the same district of Plovdiv from the middle of the nineteenth century indicate an average size of 5.4 persons per household (Güran 1980, 9–11).

Other figures on the size of Turkish rural and urban families from the Bulgarian region during the second half of the nineteenth century testify to an average household size of 4.17 persons, with considerable interregional variations (Göyünç 1979, 339–345).

In 1888, according to some statistical data, households of over 10 members were encountered mostly in western Bulgaria (especially the districts of Trîn, Breznik, Tsaribrod, Samokov and Sofia). The censuses of 1887, 1892, and 1900 attest to the fact that these households comprised less than 8% of the rural population (*Etnografiya* 1980, 294).

Inheritance Patterns

Inheritance patterns have been long recognized for their prime importance in shaping family structures, marriage patterns, and other social arrangements (Goody, Thirsk and Thompson 1976, 1). The following represents only a brief attempt to present a sketch of the inheritance system from existing secondary sources so as to provide a general, although not complete and exhaustive, background for the interpretation of a variety of social facts.

The inheritance system of Bulgaria during the nineteenth century, i.e., "the way by which property is transmitted between the living and the dead, and especially between generations" (Goody, Thirsk and Thompson 1976, 1) was, in fact, the complex sum total of different systems based on customary (common) law, Byzantine law, and Ottoman law.

The earliest Slavic legislation of the second half of the ninth century, *Zakon soudnii lyudyam*, introduced the Byzantine *Ekloga* of Leo III the Isaurian and Constantine V Copronymus into the newly Christianized Bulgarian kingdom. It is clear from this legislation that the dominant form of inheritance was partible inheritance among the direct heirs (Danailov 1901, 53). However, the *Zakon soudnii lyudyam* should not be treated as a mere translation, but as an adaptation of Byzantine law to Bulgarian realities (Bobchev 1903, 41). Thus, where the Byzantine *Ekloga* provided unlimited rights to the father (or to the household head) to dispose of his property, *Zakon soudnii lyudyam* insisted on the rights of sons to equal shares of the inheritance (Bobchev 1903, 110; Andreev and Angelov 1955, 244). There are also other instances where the inheritance law varies from the Byzantine original. For example, the Slavic Ekloga (*Zakon soudnii lyudyam*) recognized, in case there were no legal heirs, the right of the poor to inherit. This was not provided by Roman (Byzantine) law (Andreev 1961; *Etnografiya* 1980, 331). Actually, partible inheritance remained the only form of inheritance in Bulgaria. The only exception was, according to customary law, disinheriting the son in case of disobedience (*Etnografiya* 1980, 340).

The *Ekloga* in its Slavic version continued to be used in medieval Bulgaria long after it was out of use in the Byzantine Empire, which attests to its undeniable adequacy and correspondence to common law. The documentation from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries unequivocally confirms the rights of the individual peasant, who was a member of the village commune, to sell, donate and bequeath his personal property (Litavrin 1960, 63; Angelov 1959, 95). Clause 174 of the Code of Dušan (*Dušanov zakonik*), which was applied in parts of the Bulgarian territories, provided that the holders of *bashtina* and of the purchased estate could freely give it away as dowry, donations to the church, or sell it. This property, which was passed from fathers to sons, was called *bashtina*, and included arable land, the house, and the courtyard. At the same time, there are enough indications that there existed also common family/kin rights over the *bashtina*. Angelov (1959, 97) gives examples of fields sold by several sisters, or by a brother together with his sisters and his son, and by the whole "kin." The existence of unalienable and indivisible common family property can be traced into the nineteenth and even, in separate cases, into the twentieth centuries. In all cases, the official legislation would protect the individual rights of the owner and the heirs. Only customary law maintained collective rights over the *bashtina* (*Etno-*

grafiya 1980, 290). This duality reflects the presence of joint families of the *zadruga* type in a household system otherwise dominated, according to many medievalists, by the individual family household (*Etnografiya* 1980, 289–290). All this applies to the alienable individual or the unalienable family property outside the realm of the communal village property. The limited sources from the medieval period make it difficult to describe in detail the regime of communal property (over pastures, forests, and waste lands), but its existence is beyond doubt. The presence of a strong village commune is reflected also in the preservation of communal responsibilities (law enforcement in the gathering of taxes, etc.) (*Etnografiya* 1980, 331–333).

The Ottoman period was, as more scholars nowadays come to agree, "less a departure from the Byzantine Balkans than is generally assumed" (Sugar 1990, 12; Sugar 1977, 93–110; Adanir 1989, 131–176). This is particularly true for relations in the countryside, which, as far as Bulgaria is concerned, formed the bulk of the country's economy, population and social life. To a great extent, the world of the countryside remained unchanged after the Ottoman conquest.

True, the agricultural land *de jure* belonged to the state as *miri* (state land), and the peasant had only rights to the usufruct. His absolute property rights (the *mülk*) were confined to the house, the garden, the vineyard, the orchard, etc. *De facto,* he held the land as a tenant, and as long as he cultivated it and paid taxes his perpetual lease remained intact. The peasant's property and tenancy rights comprised the *tasarruf*, a privilege incorporated in the Ottoman *kanuns*, (the secular law based on the ruler's authority) but were actually derived from the *shari'a* (Islamic law). The *tasarruf* was passed down automatically to the oldest son who received it without paying inheritance tax (the *tapu*). In case there was no son, it passed to the daughter, whose husband in fact inherited the *tasarruf*. There was an elaborate system of devolution, providing for the siblings, the parents, and —in case there were no legal heirs—giving preference to the village commune in appointing the next holder (Sugar 1977, 99).

This system, with its undeniable character of indivisibility and primogeniture, would be expected to come into conflict with the common law. That this was not the case can be explained by a variety of factors. First, in a regime of a high birth rate *cum* a high death rate it was common that only one son would survive to inherit the family farm. Second, there was practically no "hunger for land." In the Ottoman Empire, as is argued in the next chapter, there were cyclical shifts from a predominantly agricultural to a predominantly stockbreeding rural economy, but they were not dictated by any lack of arable land. In fact, the population density of the Ottoman Empire as a whole, and of the Balkans in particular, was much lower than that in most parts of Europe. During the eighteenth century, countries like Italy, the Netherlands, and Belgium had over 46 persons

per square kilometer; the corresponding numbers for Britain, Spain and Central Europe were between 16 and 45; Southeastern Europe had fewer than 15 persons per square kilometer. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the average density of the population in the Balkans was 13.4 persons per square kilometer, while for the whole of the Ottoman Empire it was 10.5 (McEvedy and Jones 1980, 26; Todorov 1959–1960, 211–214; Panzac 1985, 276). Add to this the periodic reclamation of wasteland which was encouraged by the state, and which was then recognized as *mülk* (Adanir 1989, 139). This latter development most affected the ruling elite, but the peasants had their own provisions under common law. The peasant had the right, provided he had secured the permission of the commune, to reclaim part of the common land (pastures, forests or wastelands) for cultivation. Moreover, the fact that he had invested labor was considered a sufficient basis for endowing him with property rights, especially if the land had been cultivated for several consecutive years (Vakarelski 1977, 458; Markova 1960, 94–95; Popov 1904, 23–24; *Etnografiya* 1980, 324). Worth mentioning is the interpretation of Roman law that the Roman land property is to be understood much more in terms of the duty to cultivate the land rather than with the rights to alienation (Staerman 1957). In fact, the Ottoman legislative system accepted and codified the communal custom whereby wastelands were considered to be in the possession of the village, and could be used by the members of the village commune. It is true that the legislation limited the rights of the village commune over the wastelands: they could be cultivated only with official permission. In practice, however, this limitation was constantly violated (*Etnografiya* 1980, 316–317).

Finally, customary law was not only preserved during the Ottoman period, but it had a rather broad spectrum of application in criminal and civil cases, as well as in property relations (Bobchev 1896, 1902, 1915; 1917, 1927; Demelich 1976; Maynov 1891; Vakarelski 1969; Andreev 1954–1955, 1956, 1962; *Obichaino pravo* 1974). This depended on the degree of self-government granted to the village communes and to the guilds. All matters concerning real estate had, in theory, to pass through the Ottoman *kadi* court. However, especially during the nineteenth century, many instances have been recorded where questions regarding inheritance, the allocation of land to immigrants, etc., were referred to the competence of the local elders, whereby the Ottoman court was being avoided (Odzhakov 1955, 7, 182; Baldzhiev 1892, 648, 652).

The principle of partible equal inheritance was dominant in Southeastern Europe in general. One exception from this general principle was in some Greek islands of the Aegean, where strict primogeniture was followed, and where there was a complex system of transmission of the patrinomy along both the male and female lineage (Stahl 1986, 153–159). Elsewhere, after the death of the household

head, his property was divided between his heirs by partition. The procedure would involve the creation of several approximately equal parts which would then be distributed among the heirs, in the presence of relatives and neighbors, by drawing lots (*Etnografiya* 1980, 341). Mills or shops were not divided. They were either sold or used consecutively for defined periods of time (Ganev 1921, 103).

According to tradition, the house was left to the youngest son with whom, as a rule, the surviving parent resided. It was also believed that the youngest son was the least likely to accumulate his own property, so it was only fair to pass the family house to him (*Etnografiya* 1980, 341).

Although succession was in general intestate, the transmission of property by means of written or oral wills was also practiced. These wills usually had the character of instructions. The disinheriting of heirs was an extremely rare, and occurred only under exceptional circumstances (*Etnografiya* 1980, 342; Andreev and Angelov 1972, 366).

In fact, equal inheritance meant equal inheritance for the sons. Women, as a rule, were excluded from the inheritance of the real estate (Bobchev 1902, 90, 310). They inherited only their dowry (which could include real estate only as a rear exception) and the personal belongings of their mother. In a few regions, for example, Karlovo, women were entitled to inheritance if there were no sons, but this was rare. In all of Western Bulgaria women did not inherit at all. Instead, if there were no sons, the property would often go to the local church or school (Andreev and Angelov 1972, 365; *Etnografiya* 1980, 341). Without venturing into the discussion of causal relations, the connection between this principle and the marrying-off daughters is obvious.

After the formation of the independent Bulgarian state, the new legislation was directed at creating a written law code, which would supplant both Ottoman law and customary law. This was a lengthy process, lasting from about 1890 to 1910. The resultant code was an adaptation from the West European and Russian legal systems. Customary law was retained as a subsidiary legal source in cases not envisaged by the written law. For several more decades, practically until the Second World War, the influence of customary law in many spheres of social life remained decisive.

In 1890 a law was passed maintaining the equal division of property among all the children, male and female alike. This has been interpreted by some authors as a concession to the peasantry which further exacerbated the crisis in the countryside:

> Unfortunately, what changes were made went in the wrong direction largely because the individual peasant saw the solution to his problem mainly in the acquisition of more land; he wanted the division of the large estates. He also continued to support inheritance laws, such as one passed in

> Bulgaria in 1890, that maintained the equal division of property among all the children of a family. This system, together with the increase in population, led to a proliferation of dwarf plots on which the majority of Balkan peasants attempted to support themselves (Jelavich 1977, 202).

Quite to the contrary, the 1890 law entered in direct conflict with the common practice, which excluded women from inheritance, in order to secure the principle of "maintaining the land in the kin group or in the village" (*Etnografiya* 1980, 324). It not only came under sharp criticism but was practically boycotted. The state was forced to accept two additional acts so as to adjust the inheritance system to the local custom but without obvious effect. According to the act of 1896, male heirs received the right to buy up the property of female heirs. The legislation also prohibited the division of fields into parts smaller than 3 decares (slightly over 0.7 acres). The second act, effected in 1906, gave the male heirs the right to inherit twice as much real estate as their female siblings (*Etnografiya* 1980, 356). Even with these amendments, the inheritance law in the countryside was not observed (*Vladigerov*, 1942).

As far as conjugal inheritance law is concerned, it was, altogether, very unsettled, and varied according to local tradition. As a rule, widows were not entitled to inheritance. In some localities the widow, in the absence of children, could inherit, but this was not the general rule. If she was still young and childless, she would usually not inherit. In general, the estate of a childless individual (no matter whether male or female) would be inherited by his relatives, and not by his surviving spouse. Thus, the wife's dowry would be returned to her parents on her death (*Etnografiya* 1980, 341). In the case of families with children, the widower was entitled only to manage his deceased wife's property, to which only the children could succeed.

In other places the practice followed the *shari'a*, and the surviving spouse would receive a specified share of the property of the deceased partner (Andreev and Angelov 1972, 365; *The Muslim Law* 1934).

Because of the central place the *zadruga* holds in scholarly research, its inheritance customs have been particularly well studied and described (*Etnografiya* 1980, 335–337; Andreev and Angelov 1972, 353–366). Suffice it to say that, in general, transmission *mortis causa* is not the central means by which the reproduction of the social system is carried out in this case, insofar as the death of any member of the *zadruga* did not affect *ipso facto* its common property. It was only in the period of the disintegration of the *zadruga* (in fact the only period that is well-known and described in detail in the ethnological literature) that the question of the partitioning of *zadruga* property came on the agenda. The partition could follow the death of the household head but was not automatically linked to it; there were many instances of partition during

the lifetime of the head of the *zadruga* (Bobchev 1902, 71). In every other respect it would follow the partition procedures mentioned above (*Etnografiya* 1980, 297, 341–342).

To conclude, equal partible inheritance reflects strong communal relations, and this has been the dominant interpretation throughout the scholarly literature. Without in any way discounting the validity and importance of this argument, an additional one has been mentioned in the foregoing discourse: the relative abundance of land in the Balkans because of the more relaxed demographic conditions. It is noteworthy that in Western Europe, too, with the easing of demographic pressure at times, "it appears that on both sides of the Channel there was less insistence than in the past… on the previously sacrosanct imperatives decreeing the conservation of the patrimony" (Goody, Thirsk and Thompson 1976, 50). It was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that the shortage of land began to be experienced in Bulgaria. However, this is connected primarily to the onset in of a new demographic regime.

It has been assumed that partible inheritance would result in high nuptiality, low migration and, consequently, rapid population growth. Conversely, impartible inheritance would limit the number of marriages, and would result in high migration and low population growth (Berkner and Mendels 1978, 209–223). This model seems, on the whole, to be borne out by the Bulgarian evidence of the second half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, as has been shown in chapters 3–5, universal nuptiality at a low marriage age was a fundamental characteristic of the Bulgarian marriage pattern which, coupled with a very high fertility rate and an only moderately high mortality rate, resulted in a growing population. Yet, studies on Alpine villages as well as the figures from the Princeton European fertility project "demonstrate that different levels of nuptiality were clearly related to different levels of fertility but hardly to different inheritance systems" (Viazzo 1989, 93). Judging from later developments in the Balkans, when considerations of inheritance could not be advanced as having priority, high nuptiality and an early age at marriage still remained the prevailing cultural pattern, although different regimes of fertility resulted (Wagner 1982, 33–53; Wagner 1984).

One could therefore speak of a relative independence from the inheritance system. It could be even argued that, once universal nuptiality (with a low marriage age) had become an established behavioral pattern and was internalized as an underlying societal value, it could exert a reverse influence on the system of inheritance.

The importance of inheritance systems for shaping household structure has also been widely recognized. Anthropologists and historians alike have assumed that "impartible inheritance will produce low levels of nuptiality and a predom-

inance of stem-family households, whereas partibility should result in early marriage, moderate rates of permanent celibacy, and a high proportion of nuclear families" (Viazzo 1989, 224). Also, as Jack Goody has pointed out:

> Clearly larger households are obtained by delaying the point of family fission. Smaller households (or at least housefuls) are obtained by advancing that point up to the limiting condition, where no more than one married couple remains under one roof. The size of household related to the timing of family fission (i.e. the developmental cycle) and this in turn to the devolution of property (Goody, Thirsk and Thompson 1976, 23).

Again, as a whole, Bulgaria seems to conform to this model. As the analysis of the evidence in this chapter shows, there is an overall predominance of small sized simple family households in the country.

However, the correlation between inheritance patterns, nuptiality, and family and household size and structure, as defined above, fails to take into account an important factor, namely neolocality or the absence of it at the time the marriage takes place. Neolocality as a prerequisite to a marriage would exert a limiting influence both on nuptiality as well as on the size and complexity of the family household. On the other end of the spectrum, the absence of neolocality as a precondition would encourage high nuptiality as well as the proliferation of bigger and more complex family forms. In the Bulgarian case, two sets of factors combine—partible inheritance and the absence of neolocality—with an opposite effect on family size and structure, as Figure 6.2 shows.

The model advanced in Figure 6.2 attempts to establish the correlation between vital events, inheritance systems, the method of domestic group formation, and the size and structure of family households. However, it leaves out a singularly important factor: the environmental. This is to be explored in the next chapter while analyzing a specific form of family and household organization attributed to the South Slavs: the *zadruga*.

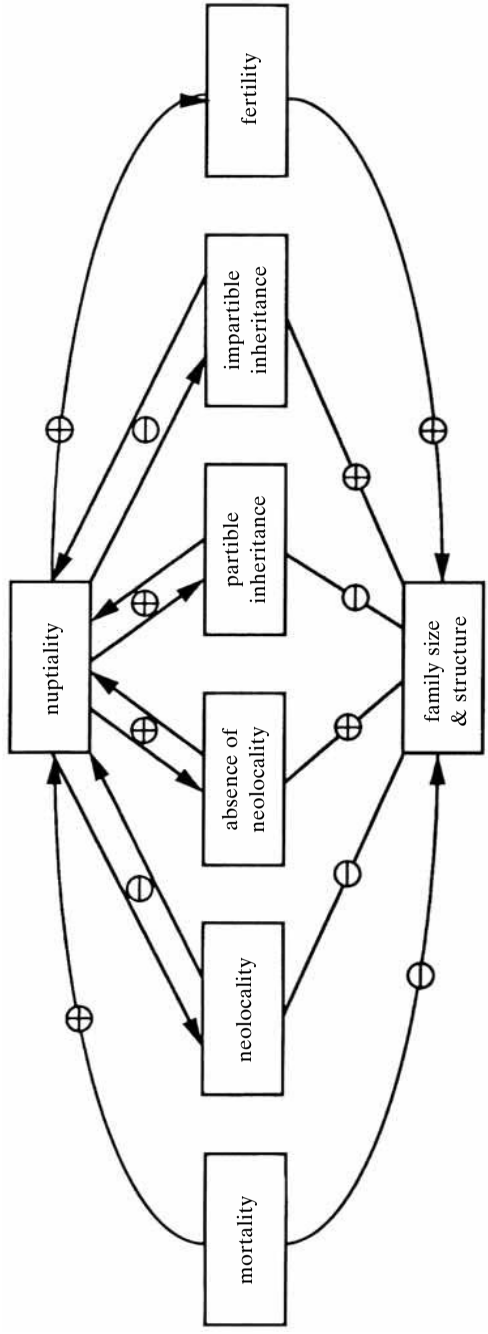


Figure 6.2. Correlation between vital events, inheritance patterns, and family and household size and structure

Notes

1 There are certain local exceptions to this claim. Thus, a *kanunname* of 1554 for the region of Lipovo (Romania) specifies, that a *hane* comprises all non-Muslims living under one roof, no matter what their number, but on the condition that they are related, and eat, sow and earn together (Barkan 1945, 322).

2 In some concrete cases there exists a complete identity between the *cizye hane* and the *avariz hane*. Such is the case with the *cizye* register from 1489–1493 as juxtaposed with the *avariz* registers of 1520–1530 (Todorov and Velkov 1988).

3 Hajnal remarks that, "in past centuries, the term *family* and its equivalents in other languages were commonly used to denote what is now called a household." He adds that, in referring to texts from past centuries, he has "felt free to use *household* where *family* occurs in the original" (Hajnal 1983, 100).

4 The Laslett, or Hammel/Laslett, table has been adopted, as indicated by Laslett himself (1987, 279), with only one modification from Louis Henry 1967.

5 See Appendix II.

6 Such, for example, is the household of the agricultural day laborer Todori, son of Teokhari, aged 23, from the townsquarter Kalchooglu (hane # 9). He co-resided with his brother Nedyo, aged 21, and his two brothers-in-law, Lefter, son of Orthodoxi, aged 30, and Gancho, son of Dragan, aged 25 (Todorova 1982, 170).

7 Households 1 and 2; 9 and 10; 13 and 14; 20 and 21; 25 and 26; 28, 29 and 31; 33 and 34; 4 and 45, as can be seen in Appendix II. These are households having the same family names. However, it is logical to surmise that additional "hidden" cases of kinship exist.

8 Households of co-residing married brothers and their families. Also defined as households with secondary units disposed sideways from the head of the family; no member from the parental generation (Laslett 1983, 519).

9 The stem-family (*famille-souche*)—a notion introduced by Le Play who held it to be the perfect model of social organization—describes the multi-generational family household, in which the domestic and economic unit would be transmitted to a lone heir (a privileged child). This arrangement, in which extra individuals either left or stayed unmarried working in the family household as domestic servants, secured the strict control over the number of rural estates, as well as the equilibrium between population and resources. It was a form most frequently encountered among landowning peasants in southern France (Fauve-Chamoux 1995, 86–113). Stem-families definitely existed in Bulgaria, but the predominance of partible and equal inheritance makes their quantitative identification without additional specific information about property transfer difficult. While in the sources they resemble structurally the configuration of stem-families, this, as is argued later in the section "Inheritance Patterns," was probably the result of a regime of a high birth rate *cum* a high death rate where only one son would survive to inherit the family farm. I would, therefore, revise my entry for the proportion of stem-family households for the Bulgarian data from *high* to *unknown*. In fact, were it not for the demographic constraints, it may have been most probably *low*, agreeing with the Mediterranean and East European pattern.

VII
THE PROBLEM OF THE SOUTH SLAV *ZADRUGA*

Before embarking on a survey of definitions of the *zadruga* and the various criteria used for these definitions, it is necessary to very briefly explain the term *zadruga*. This Slavic word was not used to designate a family form of any kind in any of the South Slavic vernaculars. It existed only in its adjectival form (*zadružen, zadrugarski*, etc.), meaning communal, united, joint, corporative, and other synonyms, and would be used to define "work," "relations," and so on. The first time it appears as a noun, and used subsequently, to designate a certain family type, is in Vuk Karadžić's Serbian dictionary, published in Vienna in 1818:

> *zadruga* – Hausgenossenschaft (in Gegensatze der einzelnen Familie), *plures familiae in eadem domo* (more Serbico) (Karadžić 1898, 181).

Practically all scholars agree that the *zadruga* is a neologism, most probably coined by Vuk Karadžić himself to denominate a large family household, in contrast to the small, simple or nuclear family comprising only parents and children (Sicard 1976, 253). Whereas the word spread very quickly in the literature (historical, economic, legal etc.), significantly enough, it never entered the vernacular. Instead, a number of different terms continued to be used in everyday speech depending on the regional differences.

The most frequent term was "house" (*kuća* in Serbo-Croatian, *kŝta* in Bulgarian), used to describe any kind of family household. In the case of a large family of the extended or multiple type, "house" would be accompanied by adjectives: "big" (*velika* or *goliama*), "united" (*zadružna*), "undivided" (*neodijelijena*). Another term was "the children of the family, the lot" (*čeljad*), also qualified by attributes related to size. In different regions terms like *skupčina* (Zagorje in Croatia), *kupčtina* (parts of Bulgaria), *hiža, dom, dimačina* (parts of Croatia), *tayfa*[1] (Macedonia), *familija* (parts of Macedonia), *društvo* (Vojvodina), *domakinstvo*, *dom*, *kŝta* (Bulgaria), *glota* (Banat), etc. were used. Still another way of expressing communal life was by description: "we live in a crowd [literally—heap]" (*živeem u kup, kupno*), "together" (*naedno, zajedno*), "The people are united, they live united" (*zadružni su ljudi, zadružno živejat*) etc.(Vinski 1938, 14–16; Filipović 1976; Bobchev 1888; Geshov 1887, 438).

In 1807, the Austrian government published a legal code for the Military Frontier, the "Grenzgrundgesetze." In it, a heretofore unknown family organization was described and codified. Neither of the above-mentioned designations was used, however, but an entirely new term was coined: the "Hauskommunion" (Kaser 1985, 14).

Consequently, all definitions of the *zadruga,* whether originated from a legal, economic or kinship perspective, were in the last resort definitions of an artificial nineteenth century term rather than definitions of a phenomenon existing under this name. This is important to keep in mind especially when analyzing the historical evidence for the *zadruga*.

Most definitions of the *zadruga* do not contradict, they complement each other (Karadžić 1898; *Hrvatsko Zadružno Pravo*, 1884; Marinov 1984; Dopsch 1909; Ivšić 1933; Sicard 1947; Sicard 1976; Mosely 1976; Filipović 1976; Hammel 1972; Hammel 1975; Halpern and Wagner 1984). The approaches can be different—legal, economic, political, but they usually agree in their main descriptions. A contemporary and ardent researcher of the *zadruga* in the late nineteenth century characterized them as follows:

> Under the name *zadruga* we understand a family consisting of 10–15–20, and even more small families or households (man, wife and the children), who live together around one threshing floor, work together, bring in together, eat together, and are ruled by one person (Marinov 1984, 293).

At the same time the *zadruga* was defined as a legal entity in Croatia:

> Several families or members, living in the same house, under the management of one head and constituting one farm, working together on undivided property, using revenues communally, constituting a patriarchal community, called *zadruga* (*Hrvatsko Zadružno Pravo* 1884, art.1).

However, two major treatments of the *zadruga* are discernible: one treating it as an institution, the other as a stage in the family life-cycle.[2]

Probably the most concise definition of the *zadruga* in the first line of reasoning belongs to Philip Mosely:

> A household composed of two or more biological or small-families, closely related by blood or adoption, owning its means of livelihood jointly, and regulating the control of its property, labor, and livelihood communally (1976, 31).

Mosely's definition highlights some of the major features of the *zadruga*: kinship,[3] shelter, property relations, working process and livelihood. At the same time it does not take into account the numerous exceptions or deviations from the above-mentioned characteristics. As one scholar has aptly put it, "this definition has to be understood as an approximation" (Tomasevich 1955, 180).

One interpretation of the *zadruga,* which further elaborates its legal aspects, deserves a closer look. Its author, Stefan Bobchev, distinguished between individual families and two types of *zadruga*. The first type was the simple *zadruga.* From the point of view of size and composition it corresponded to the individual family, but unlike the latter, where the father/head of household was the property owner, the simple *zadruga* had common property rights. The second type was the complex or collective *zadruga,* which could be either very numerous or less so. All *zadrugas* were defined as kin groups formed as a response to challenges involved in making one's living, support and defense (Bobchev 1907, 190–193).

Bobchev's definition of the *zadruga*, along with some others, stressed the common performance of the group, regardless of its size. This is important to keep in mind, because, as is argued later in the text, size is an important criterion.

A number of scholars have pointed out that the *zadruga*, or the extended and multiple family, as well as the individual nuclear family, should not be treated as exact opposites, but rather as stages in the life-cycle of a family.[4] Following this line of reasoning, a recent interesting and rewarding approach to the *zadruga* treats it not as "a thing, but as a process":

> The *zadruga*, as a process, is a set of rules operating within certain constraints that influence the rates at which persons are added to the residential groups and that control the maximum size of these groups by introducing pressures for continued accretion or for division (Hammel 1972, 370).

> The *zadruga* is by no means a simple institution with a static existence of its own but rather… an epiphenomenon of demographic and ecological conditions combined with an ideology that permits joint-family organization to be adopted, and that on the other hand the existence of joint-family organization can also have important effects on the underlying demographic and ecological variables… The *zadruga* as an organizational form must be a transitory phase in a process of development… a joint family organization similar in all its characteristics to those observed in many other parts of the world, particularly in its developmental aspects (Hammel 1975, 146, 148, 150).

Hammel's observations might seem an acceptable statement, if only the term *zadruga* would be dismissed, and instead, the concept of complex (extended and multiple) family forms would be used. As is argued later in the text, Hammel and other scholars employ two sets of concepts as interchangeable. This author's symbolic ban of the term *zadruga* does not indicate a desire to exclude it from any kind of historical discourse. This would mean committing the ultimate treason for a historian—the treason of ahistoricity. The ban concerns only the limited and concrete sphere of quantitative historical-demographic studies. This by no means reflects an overestimation of the quantitative and structural approach to the detriment of the narrative and historical. It is a simple plea for terminological rigidity, which, it is hoped, would also introduce and stimulate a general intellectual precision and solidity in a particular field.

Treatments of the *zadruga* as a process came as a justifiable reaction against the "separation of a process into snapshots of its behavior" which "leads only to misinterpretation and the computation of misleading indices, such as simple means of household size, frequency of division of households or the size of only the largest units" (Hammel 1972, 370). In addition, this approach avoids the trap of conforming to rigid and often pedantic institutional definitions, that unavoidably miss or disregard exceptions.

In many respects this new approach is a continuation, or reinvention, of the research done by Baltasar Bogišić a century ago (Bogišić 1884). Bogišić juxtaposed the two household forms, the nuclear and the joint (*kuća inokošna* and *kuća zadružna*), treating them not as two separate types, but as phases in the development of the same family. Thus, as Paul Stahl concludes, "he [Bogišić] writes down for the first time the foundations of research which will be reinvented almost a century later, after the Second World War, a research involving the different phases of the development of the family" (Stahl 1986, 168).

Still the question remains of why were the snapshots (even if only snapshots) different? Assuming, with Hammel, that the *zadruga* was a stage through which a family might or might not pass, depending on a variety of factors (mostly demographic and economic), the probability (in statistical terms) of this happening could be computed (or simulated). The problem then is why would there be deviations from the probable (simulated) share of *zadruga* as a stage, i.e., what was the differential geographical, demographical and historical propensity for this stage to happen?

A somewhat different version of the treatment of *zadruga* as process was elaborated by Halpern and Wagner. Introducing the concepts of cyclical and linear time, they could operate successfully in a two-dimensional framework in which "cultural ideologies stressing the ideal patterns are based on cyclical time, but individual experience must always cope with linear change" (Halpern and Wagner

1984, 229). They stressed that cultural ideologies are based on cyclical time, whereas individual experience must always cope with linear change. Based on this reasoning, the authors distinguished between family life-cycle and individual life-course. This is a useful distinction, but on the level of concrete individual life histories, no matter if they are the histories of persons or families, it is difficult to insist on the recurrent, sequential and predictable, i.e., the cyclical character of life. Each life history of an individual person or individual family is unique, and in an historical descriptive approach, life-course seems to be a more appropriate concept. However, on a broader level of generalization, in a sociological approach (whether for contemporary or for historical studies) dealing with the abstract individual and the abstract family, life-cycle would seem to be the most adequate term. Thus, according to the degree of generalization and the specific approach, one could distinguish between individual and/or family life-course, and individual and/or family life-cycle.

Central to the Halpern/Wagner argument was the recognition of the *zadruga* as an ideal type, achieved only by a minority of the population, but which served as an ideological prototype:

> The usual point of departure for describing the *zadruga* household cycle is a structure of three generations headed by the married sons and their children. This has represented the maximum ideal. Such structures had the potential to grow even larger with the accretion of collateral and adopted kin and, more rarely, a fourth generation. At the same time, it was recognized that as male grandchildren came of age there would be a natural fissioning into constituent nuclear households which would again repeat the cycle and develop into *zadruga*-type extended family households. These ideal prototypes have provided a pattern against which to assess the standards to measure change used by both participants in the society and earlier researchers (Halpern and Wagner 1984, 235).

Basic kin dyads were considered the most important structural element of the *zadruga*. In a patriarchal society with agnatic kin structure and patrilineal descent, such as Serbia, the authors emphasized mostly dyadic relations, especially of the father-son type, along with collateral ones (brother-brother).

> Ideological expectations based on a close-ended cyclical time perspective envisage structures based on optimal conditions that are only infrequently achieved. Thus the ideal *zadruga* structure was predicated on fertile marriages producing several sons who survived to marry and father sons. Historically, it was high mortality rather than low fertility, which produced the

> discrepancy between ideology and achieved reality. Today, rather than the premature death of tential role participants, it is reduced birth rates and migration which have resulted in roles not being fulfilled because of the lack of individuals present in the village (Halpern and Wagner 1984, 235).

Pioneering and significant as these latter approaches were to the interpretation of an important phenomenon, they did not appear to contribute to the clarification of the terminology. Rather, in their treatment of the *zadruga* mainly from the point of view of kin structure, they tended to identify it with the extended and multiple family, overlooking such central characteristics to its existence as the legal structure, labor organization, and consumption patterns.

It is one of the purposes of this chapter to argue that the *zadruga* should be viewed as a complex structure and process alike, possessing a number of diverse valencies, such as kinship, property relations, residence, and working arrangements. Taken in isolation, and elaborated as the sole basis of approach, each of these valencies would produce a one-sided definition and description, which would be valid for as many cases as there would be exceptions.

On the other hand, the "institution-process" dichotomy is not so self-evidently contradictory. The "*zadruga-as-process*" approach successfully invalidated the rigid, immobile and structural institutional treatment, located in a linear time development (historical time included). However, the "*zadruga-as-process*" approach in itself, and especially its version resting on the cyclical time concept and emphasizing its cultural-ideological dimension, tended to extract the phenomenon from its concrete historical environment, in fact reducing it to a vector of an eternal (or at least not historically specified), and, thus, ahistorical development.

It is clear that throughout this chapter and in the whole book the term *zadruga* is applied to a *family organization*, i.e., the *zadruga*'s kinship aspects are an inseparable part of its characteristics. This treatment of the term as a specific type of a household of relatives is the most widespread one.

One should be aware, however, that there exists in the literature a broader treatment of the *zadruga* outside the realm of kinship or affinity. One of the great scholars of the *zadruga*, Milenko Filipović, applies the term to similar households which, however, are not composed by relatives (*nesrodnička zadruga),* and/or do not share a common shelter (*razdvojica*) (Filipović 1945). Both types of *zadrugas*, according to Filipović, can be observed in Serbia and Croatia, in Dalmatia and Macedonia, in Bosnia and Herzegovina (equally represented among Orthodox, Catholics, and Muslims), as well as among the northern Albanians and the Bulgarians (Filipović 1945, 39–55). The crucial characteristic, in this case, is "common labor (based on the principle of cooperation and division of labor), and common interest." In fact, it is a specific response to living conditions, encountered primarily in areas of recent colonization or migration (Filipović 1945, 60).

As already stated, here the *zadruga* is being explored as a type of family and household structure. However, it is worth keeping in mind the broader treatment discussed above when assessing the relative importance of ecological rationales and ideological foundations.

Distribution and Development of the *ZADRUGA* in the Balkans

Practically all authors dealing with the *zadruga* are confident and categorical in asserting that as an institution it has characterized the region from times immemorial. Some would maintain that it existed since ancient times (Filipović 1976, 268); others would more modestly insist on its existence only since medieval times (Vucinich 1976, 162); still others, quite aware of the difficulty to substantiate any assertion by historic evidence, would vaguely state that "the *zadruga*… has long had a central place in peasant life" (Mosely 1976, 31).

Although it is asserted that "the South-Slav *zadruga* is occasionally mentioned in written sources as early as the twelfth century" (Filipović 1976, 269), it must be kept in mind that this is an interpretative assertion. The term, as has been shown, was unknown until the nineteenth century, and what was accepted as *zadruga* was the interpretation of certain evidence as proof for the existence of complex families.

Provided here for analysis is one example, extensively used as early proof for the existence of the *zadruga*.[5] This is the Law Code of the Serbian Czar Stefan Dušan of 1349 and 1354, and specifically the much cited Article 70.[6]

Article 70 stipulates that brothers, or a father and his sons, living in the same house (*ou edinoi koukie*), but separated in their food and property (*hlebom i imaniem),* should work as the other peasants (*mali lyudye),* even though they share the same hearth (*ognistye).*

Although neither *zadruga,* nor any adjectival form from the same root, was used in the text, it is widely assumed that house (*kuća*) was meant to describe a *zadruga.* Thus, according to Filipović: "In the General Law Code for Montenegro in 1888, Valtazar Bogišić used the term *kuća* to mean *zadruga*. The Law Code of Czar Dušan in 1349 used the word *kuća* with the same meaning" (1976, 269). However, the only obvious textual interpretation points to the fact that people who were kinfolk, divided in their means of livelihood and property, might share the same shelter. Novaković rightly pointed out in his commentary that this was a means to avoid excessive taxes and work, as these were distributed by houses (*Zakonik Stefana Dušana* 1898, 189–190; Novaković 1891, 224–225). Such fragmentary evidence does not indicate if this arrangement was widespread or lasting. This type of documentary material served as a basis for the theory, deriv-

ing the *zadruga* from the taxation practices of the medieval Serbian, Byzantine or Ottoman states. In fact, the only characteristic the fourteenth century joint-family arrangement, described in the Law Code of Dušan, shared with the nineteenth century family form, designated as *zadruga*, was the common shelter. However, such seemingly obligatory and self-evident features of the *zadruga*, as common property and livelihood, were absent from this documentation. Significantly enough, this circumstance was not given due attention or was conveniently overlooked by scholars.

Authorities on Byzantine and medieval Balkan agrarian history agree that two types of property and inheritance, namely the individual and the collective, co-existed (Kazhdan 1959, 75; Litavrin 1960, 65–66; Angelov 1958, 96–98). On the other hand, the reading of *Zakon soudnij ljudjam* and of the *Ekloga* led one scholar to conclude that already by the eighth century communal landownership was a forgotten institution (Kondov 1965, 83). The fragmentary evidence from medieval documents on sales and donations of real estate to monasteries attests to the fact that alongside individual family property there was the property of extended kin groups. Most authors concentrate on the economic and legal aspects of agrarian history. However, some conclusions can be reached also on the geographic distribution of the two types of property relations. Thus, fourteenth century sources reveal the presence of communal property especially in Serbia and Macedonia.

Without having any additional kind of evidence on the organization of households, historians of medieval agrarian history usually ascribe the two types of property to two types of family organization: the individual family household and the communal family, invariably using the term *zadruga.* A typical example in this respect is the following statement: "The great extended kin[7] (*zadruga*) existed most probably at the same time not only in the Macedonian territories but also in other Bulgarian regions. Unfortunately there are is no direct evidence for that" (Angelov 1959, 97). However, none of the aforementioned authors passes a categorical judgement on the distribution or prevalence of a given type of property or family organization.

One of the few to have paid close attention to the medieval sources was Eugene Hammel. He maintained on the basis of Serbian sources that only two kinds of medieval documents contain explicit data on household organization. These were the medieval chryssobulls of the Serbian Empire and the Ottoman defters. It is difficult to refrain from citing one curious comment of his:

> I ignore here the very rare references in codes and proclamations, rare perhaps because the *zadruga* was so common that no one needed to mention it (Hammel 1976, 101).

This is certainly a logical alternative, although it would seem that the obvious logical conclusion would be that the rare reference reflected rare occurrence. In a similar way, commenting on the inconclusive evidence from medieval sources, Hammel counters that his "*faith* lies more with peasant ability to dissemble" (Hammel 1972, 365).

The two kinds of documents mentioned by Hammel are population lists drawn for fiscal purposes. As he himself rightly pointed out, they present several problems of interpretation. The one to be discussed at length here is whether the Ottoman material of the earlier centuries can be used at all as a source for household organization.

The typical Ottoman *timar* register of the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries would list the name of the village, followed by the usual pattern of somewhat monotonous entries of the type: A, son of B. Sometimes to these entries additional remarks can be added at the bottom, specifying whether the person in question is married or single, as is the case with the *timar* register from the *sancak* of Tirnovo in Bulgaria from the middle of the fifteenth century (*Turski izvori* 1964). At the end of the list one can find the total number of *hane* (Muslim and non-Muslim ones being listed separately), as well as of unmarried (*mücerred*). These are followed by the different taxes and the sum total for the village.

Sometimes, a greater variety of kinship relationships can be traced, as, for example, in a sixteenth century register of *timar* and *hass* from the Sofia and Samokov region in Bulgaria ((*Turski izvori* 1966). Alongside the usual father-son entry, it also occasionally reflects relations such as brother-brother, uncle-nephew, father-in-law–son-in-law, and son–brother-in-law, as well as some information on profession and population movement.

It is clear that the way the registers were compiled there is no unequivocal delineation of the household. As argued in the previous chapter, the *hane* was partly divorced from its physical meaning. Consider one example from the Tirnovo list. One can observe the sequential entries of three persons who are obviously related:

Yusuf, veled-i Yakub	*Akindzhi, veled-i Yusuf*	*Ramazan, veled-i Yusuf*
çiftlu	*çiftlu*	*mücerred*
Yusuf, son of Yakub	*Akindzhi, son of Yusuf*	*Ramazan, son of Yusuf*
married	*married*	*single*

It is probable that the father and his two sons, the married and the unmarried one, were living together. There is no explicit indication, however, that these people belong to the same household.

Consider another example from the next list:

Drayko, veled-i Yovan	*Yovan, berader-i Drayko*
Drayko, son of Yovan	*Yovan, brother of Drayko*

In this case, it is almost certain that the two men were living in the same house, respectively household. How otherwise could we explain that Yovan is designated not by the name of his father (Yovan), as would be the usual practice, but in reference to his brother, the probable head of the common household?

One last example from the same list:

Bratul,	*I stanimir*[8]	*Iliya*
veled-i Radiçe	*damad-i Brad*	*damad-i Istanimir*
Bratul	*Stanimir*	*Iliya*
son of Radiçe	*son-in-law of Brad*	*son-in-law of Stanimir*

If one assumes that Bratul and Brad are one and the same person, and following the same reasoning, namely that the reference to the person preceding in the list, and not to the father, indicates membership in the same household, then it is clear that in the latter case one is dealing with a three-generational group. Here too, as in all previous examples, this is based on logical assumptions, and not on explicit indications.

However, there are further complications of interpretation, arising from the fact that in most instances the source does not specify the marital status of the taxable male. Even provided that all cases similar to the above-mentioned, are real households, there still would be several possible interpretations of a single source (Table 7.1).

Consider briefly the simplest possibility (Table 7.1.): *A.Two-generational depth, case 1,* describing the instance of an entry consisting of a man and his son. As can be seen, different interpretations and their subsequent representations would result in completely different types of families, covering the whole range of family forms: simple, extended and multiple.

The picture is further complicated in the case of three persons comprising a two-generational family, and even more in a three-generational family, which have some arrangements that are possible, but not probable. It is clear, then, that this type of scanty information permits a rather loose interpretation that could lead to quite different conclusions.

Hammel himself, after having analyzed the lists, conceded that:

> No one can prove that they were *zadruga*s, rather than a looser territorial aggregate, such as a set of agnates living close to one another, or simply an extended kin-network. But if we admit what careful ethnography seems to make clear, namely that the *zadruga* has a flexible spatial definition varying from the *vayat* (sleeping hut) to co-owned but differently located farms, it seems more reasonable to take these groups as *zadrugas* (Hammel 1976, 107).

The crucial expression here is "careful ethnography." The point, however, is that no matter how careful it is, Balkan ethnography rests exclusively on nineteenth and twentieth century data. In the words of Paul Stahl, it was only in the nineteenth, and at the beginning of the twentieth century that "information of an historic nature (taken from historic documents) joins direct observation" (Stahl 1986, v–vi). To project ethnographic findings back in time would be at least precipitous, and often incorrect.

To return briefly to the problem of the size of the *zadruga,* a minority of authors insisted on the irrelevance of its size to the explanation of the phenomenon. However, the reader shuld once again reflect on what people at that time themselves called that which scholars defined as *zadruga.* As already mentioned, the most commonly used terms were *kuća* (house) or *čeljad* (children, lot), and they were almost invariably preceded by adjectives like *velika* or *goliama* (big, great). Certainly for the people, the size of the *zadruga* was an important characteristic, and it seems doubtless that it should be preserved, although no strict quantitative criterion can be deduced.

In his valuable "list of *zadrugas* from the Vidin, Lom, and Vratsa region" Dimitîr Marinov (1892a, 232–306) assumed all families with over 10 members to be *zadrugas*, applying a strictly numerical criterion. He covered 238 towns and villages, and the number of households with over 10 members varies between 1 and 39 (for the town of Vidin). The usual concentration is around households with 10, 11 and 12 members; households over 20 were not common. There is, however, one remarkable village, Beloptichene, characterized by many numerous households, obviously *zadrugas*. There are 9 with more than 30 members, among them one with 60, one with 55, three with 45, one with 37, one with 35, and two with 30 members.

Another indication would be the dwelling, the house. According to one of the keen observers of Balkan life, Émile de Laveleye, "the *zadruga* house is higher and much larger than that of isolated families" (Laveleye 1886, 126). What is important here is the distinction between the architectural attributes of different *types* of family dwellings. The *zadruga* structure, whether consisting of one house, of twin houses, of a principle structure surrounded by adjacent rooms or by adjacent small houses, or of isolated houses but in the same courtyard, had

Table 7.1. Interpretation of original information from a fiscal source

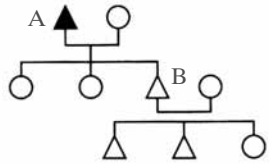
A. Two-generational depth

Case 1

Source: A, son of X B, son of A

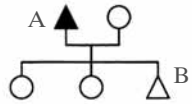
Possible representations:

a) Both married



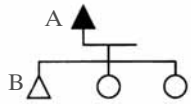
multiple family
type 5b

b) A–married, B–single, of age



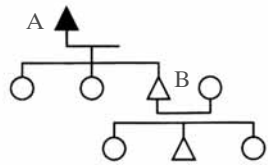
simple family
type 3b

c) A–widower, B–single, of age



simple family
type 3c

d) A-widower, B-married



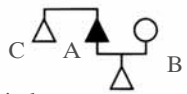
extended family
type 4a

Case 2

Source: A, son of X B, son of A C, brother of A

Possible representations:

a) B and C single

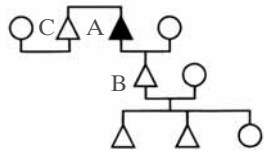


extended family
type 4c

b) B-single, C-married

multiple family
type 5d

c) B-single, C-married

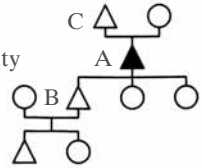


multiple family
type 5e

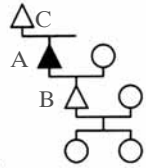
Table 7.1. (Continued)

B. Three-generational depth
Source: A, son of C B, son of A C, father of A
Possible representations:

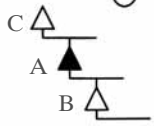
a) all married = multiple family
improbable, because of high mortality



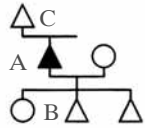
b) C widowed, A and B married = multiple family
rare, because of high mortality



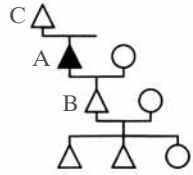
c) all widowed or unmarried = extended family
rare, because of high degree of remarriage



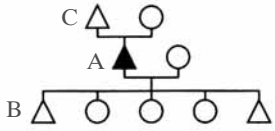
d) A married, B single, C widower = extended family
most probable



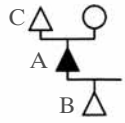
e) B married, A and C widowed = extended family
quite rare, because of high mortality



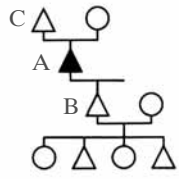
f) A and C married, B single = multiple family
very probable



g) C married, A widower, B single = extended family
rare, because of high degree of remarriage



h) B and C married, A widower = multiple family
highly improbable, because of high mortality and
a high degree of remarriage



distinct characteristics expressing the composition of the domestic group (Stahl 1986, 57–61).

In any case, the *zadruga* cannot be reduced to a simple family, no matter how numerous simple families can be. It can be safely assumed, however, that, in a representation based on kin structure, the *zadruga* is depicted by the extended or multiple-family type (Figure 7.1).

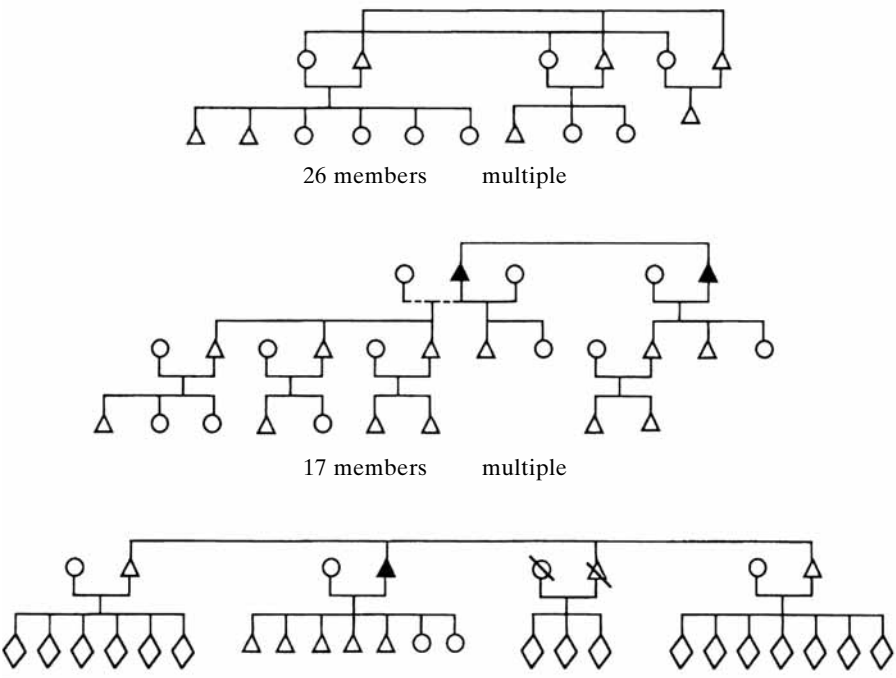


Figure 7.1. Ideographic representations of the *ZADRUGA*

Thus, although impossible to identify with one or more of the proposed family types in the Laslett classification, the *zadruga* can be made commensurable at least in qualitative terms.

To assess the relative share of the *zadruga* in the existing household and family structures in the Balkans, a question of prime importance is the geographical distribution of the different family forms. The results of existing research (Mosely 1976, 58–69; Stoianovich 1986, 189–203; Panayotopoulos 1983, 5–18; Panayotopoulos 1982; Todorova 1983, 59–72) in the field are summarized and represented in the map of the Balkan Peninsula which appears as Map 7.1.

Map 7.1. Distribution of *ZADRUGAS* in the Balkans

The distribution of the households according to type and geographical location shows the following picture: Simple family households were predominant in the narrow Adriatic littoral. Immediately to the east, in the adjacent Dinaric region between the valleys of the Sava and the Morava, there was a prevalence of big family households of the extended and multiple type. This was the mountainous stockbreeding zone, running throughout the mountain systems of Bosnia, Herzegovina, northern and Central Macedonia, and Central Albania. A similar region of a probable (though not computed) high frequency of complex families was the northwestern part of the Balkan range, the mountainous territories between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and the Rhodope region.

The tribal region of Montenegro and Northern Albania could be added as a separate entity (Boehm 1983; Whitaker 1968; Whitaker 1976). There is a valley belt of *zadruga* presence, the bulk of which was confined to the territories of Croatia, Slavonia and Vojvodina, i.e., to regions specifically indicated as part of the Military Frontier and characterized by serfdom (Kaser 1985). In these areas the second half of the nineteenth century also produced specific codes regulating legal relations of the *zadrugas* and encouraging the formation of large households.

Zadrugas were also encountered, although to a much smaller extent, in some of the valleys of Serbia, Western and Central Bulgaria, Southern Macedonia and Southern Albania. To the east and to the south of these regions there were also areas where the simple family was the predominant form. An important remark of André Burguière is pertinent to the research of the complex family forms in the Balkans, and particularly in the areas of the big *çiftliks* of Macedonia. Pointing out that complex forms exist also outside the serfdom belt, he notes: "The large or complex family seems to be particularly well adapted to the economy of the great estates where the rent, whatever its form (part of the harvest in sharecropping or the *corvée* in the Polish or Russian estates), depends on the supply of the non-paid labor. The larger the family, the more important the available work force" (Burguière, Klapisch-Zuber, Segalen and Zonabend 1986, vol. 2, 30).

Romania, as pointed out by many researchers, is outside the Southeast European *zadruga*l zone. With the exception of some border regions considered to have been highly influenced by the Serbian or Bulgarian pattern, this type of family organization was practically absent from the Romanian scene. However in Romania, as has been pointed out, "The village as a whole was communal, not the extended family. Within the village, families were considerably smaller than in the *zadruga*l areas" (Chirot 1976, 141; see also Stahl 1980; Stahl 1986; Verdery 1983). Chirot noted:

> The communal village provides an alternative solution to the problems of land clearing, of a pastoral economy, and of insecurity in a sparsely populated area. There was no reason for *zadruga*l organizations… The communal villages and the *zadrugas* served similar functions (1976, 153).

To sum up the evidence, pre-nineteenth century written sources are either of the type to provide equivocal information, or, when they are coherent, to throw light on household structure and size, disregarding other aspects like property, inheritance, labor organization, distribution, and consumption. But it is precisely information on these latter aspects that is a *conditio sine qua non* for the description of a *zadruga*. On the other hand, nineteenth- and twentieth century ethnographical data on the *zadruga* are descriptive and for the most part do not lend themselves to any kind of quantitative analysis.

The evidence testifies to the existence of the *zadruga* in some parts of the Balkans during the nineteenth century. As regards the Bulgarian territories, it was concentrated primarily in the western parts of the country. There is a piece of quantitative evidence, although of a later period, which neatly corroborates this picture.

In a breakdown of the census of December 31, 1926, a list of villages in Bulgaria was compiled which had households of 20 and more members.[9] Altogether there were 527 such households in the country. Of the seven big provinces in which the country was divided at the time (with centers Burgas, Vratsa, Plovdiv, Pleven, Sofia, Stara Zagora, and Shumen), the Sofia one (comprising the central western and southwestern parts) accounted for 243 households, or 46.1% of the total. Together with Vratsa (covering the northwest), the two western provinces made up for 296 households, or 56.2% of the total. The two eastern provinces (Shumen and Burgas) accounted for only 41 such households, or barely 7.8%. Finally, the two central southern provinces (Plovdiv and Stara Zagora) comprised 106 big households, i.e., 20.1%, while the central northern province of Pleven, delineating the only valley belt of *zadruga* presence in Bulgaria, contained 84 households, or 15.9%.

Subsuming the Bulgarian experience under the general heading "Southern Slavs," naturally makes it easier to fit into generalizations, but does not take into account geographical variations and concrete research. On the other hand, the historical documentation is insufficient to support the assertion that the *zadruga* existed earlier let alone as an obligatory stage in the development of the Balkan, and particularly the South Slav, family. This does not (and need not) by itself prove the non-existence of the *zadruga* in previous centuries, but at the same time, its permanent presence and linear development is likewise unprovable.

An Alternative Explanation

One could even put forward an alternative explanation, that the historically known and scholarly described *zadruga* could have been only a phenomenon of the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries, whose appearance and decline is to be explained by different factors typical for this period only.[10] Among the variety of factors, some are applicable only to specific regions. One of the explanations, which seems plausible for part of the Ottoman territories, is the critical decentralization of the Ottoman empire in the latter half of the eighteenth century. This had special repercussions in specific regions of the Balkans, particularly in the western Bulgarian territories. The response to this challenge might have been the emergence of the *zadruga* as a more viable means of survival. Regarding this latter aspect, an interesting line to be explored is the possible correlation between *çiftliks* and the rise and spread of the *zadruga.*

The *çiftlik* economy is still one of the hot spots in the discussions of Ottoman agricultural history.[11] A recent study, while approaching the çiftlik as a specific Ottoman response to the socio-economic changes in the countryside, warns against the excessive overestimation of its distribution, as well as against the idea that the *çiftlik* dominated the production in agriculture. As far as the Bulgarian territories are concerned it has been pointed out that:

> Today, one can safely argue that the *çiftlik* economy, even at its peak, did not encompass more than 10 percent of the agricultural land in Bulgaria and that the percentage of people involved in it was in all probability still lower (Adanir 1989, 151).

What is even more important is that while *çiftliks* existed throughout the country, they were concentrated in the western regions: the districts of Vidin and Kiustendil and in Macedonia (Khristov 1964; Gandev 1962; Irechek and Sarafov 1880; Dimitrov 1955). Incidentally, these were also the regions of the greatest concentration of *zadrugas* in Bulgaria. In fact, the whole literature on the Bulgarian *zadruga* displays a heavy, if not exclusive, emphasis on the western regions of the country (Geshov 1887; D. Marinov 1892a; Bobchev 1907; Gunchev 1933; Kostov and Peteva 1935; Pesheva 1965; Pesheva 1972; Sanders 1975; *Etnografiya* 1980).

However, this geographic coincidence has to be substantiated with additional criteria in order to prove the existence of a direct correlation between *çiftliks* and *zadrugas.* It is an especially difficult task, given the fact that the *çiftliks* themselves strongly varied in the type of formation, in size, in their economy, and in the character of their relations of production.

A more promising direction to be explored seems to be the possible connection between stockbreeding and the extended families of the *zadruga* type. The

undoubted presence of the *zadruga* in Southwestern and Northwestern Bulgaria, as well as among the semi-nomadic Karakachans, was attributed by the Bulgarian ethnologist Nikola Kondov mainly to the predominant or universal livestock-breeding economy (1965, 80). Toponymic data also testify to the spread of the *zadruga*, chiefly in the mountainous region between the Morava and the Struma rivers, on the northern slopes of the Balkan mountains well into the Tîrnovo region, and in the valleys of the Timok and the Ogosta rivers (Kondov 1965, 82). All these regions are rich in pasture-grounds and have a developed stock-breeding economy. Markova (1960, 104), who has studied the Bulgarian village commune, emphasizes the importance of stockbreeding in the overall Bulgarian agriculture, as well as the fact that it was predominantly based on communal pastures.

Even in communities in which crop agriculture predominates, there are strong remnants of a pastoral way of life. The Bulgarian ethnologist Stojan Genchev has interviewed *zadruga* type families in Northwestern Bulgaria which are oriented to land cultivation, and which would rarely have more than 50 sheep. The most important member of an agricultural family is typically the ploughman, of a pastoral family, the shepherd. Asked whom they would choose as their household head, the members of those families unanimously answered: "Most naturally 'X': he is the shepherd."[12]

Genchev also finds traces of nomadism in many of the dwellings in Northwestern Bulgaria. Thus, the typical house, and the fencing of the yard of the valley Bulgarians would have rectangular shapes, whereas the typical nomad dwelling would be round or elliptical. Most of the yards in the Northwestern Bulgarian region favor the latter shape.

Studying the dwellings of the joint family in Western Bulgaria, Vaclav Frolec draws attention to the peculiarities of their planning, which he explains by the "special character of the economy of the joint family, which combined agriculture with stock-breeding" (Frolec 1967, 63). Likewise, commenting on the *zadruga* in the Yugoslav lands, Hammel observed:

> We must recognize that farming, combined with sheep herding and pig raising as it often was, was a task for a group larger than a nuclear family, particularly a young nuclear family. These factors and the requirements of defense and the clearing of new land in some areas, and military and economic servitude in others, tended to keep the family extended (Hammel 1968, 19).

The Montenegrin *kuća* was a cluster of co-resident males who lived in close economic union, and whose primary factor of subsistence were the commonly owned flocks of sheep and goats (Boehm 1983, 40). The data from a village in the North-

western Peloponnesus also bear witness to the connection between household structure and economic activities. The usual household in the village in the 1960s was the nuclear household, but "extended families were common when the community pursued a pastoral economy in the mountains" (Bialor 1967, 95).

In an important work of the Ethnological institute in Zagreb, descriptions of individual *zadrugas* in Croatia were published, as compiled in the 1920s and 1930s, and containing original material for the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries (Nimac, Hecimović-Šešelja, Jurmić, Matašin and Jancić 1960). Without exception, they stressed the mixed economy of the *zadrugas*, with an obvious stress on livestock, and not crop farming.

Other authors, observing various regions of the Balkans, also emphasized the connection of extended and multiple families with the herding economy and mountainous regions (Mosely 1976, 31; Filipović 1976, 272, 275; Vucinich 1976, 163).

One of them, Traian Stoianovich, has attempted to theorize by explaining, on the basis of a model, the existence of extended and multiple households in the Western Balkans (the Yugoslav territories) (1980, 189–203). He applied the Nimkoff–Middleton model based on 549 societies, which postulates that extended families are typical for societies with mixed agricultural/stockbreeding economies. Expressed quantitatively, by 1900 one half of the human societies on the planet and 90% of the societies with a mixed agricultural/stockbreeding economy of the pre-industrial type had been characterized by the presence or prevalence of extended families (Nimkoff and Middleton 1960, 215–225). The mutual rivalry, the mutual control and, consequently, the balance between the two sectors of the economy, exercised a regulating and stabilizing influence on the population trends.

Stoianovich has "tested" the Nimkoff–Middleton model on Serbia by using statistical data from the end of the eighteenth century. In regions with the smallest number of settlements, the households were largest. Typically, these regions maintained an equal distribution of agriculture and stockbreeding. Farther to the east, where agriculture gradually became predominant, the number of larger settlements increased, whereas the sizes of the individual households decreased, and extended and multiple families were a rare phenomenon.

Analyzing the influence of several factors—food, demography, political organization and the development of a market economy—on the structure of the family, Stoianovich concluded that during the nineteenth century the bio-social climate had changed and was no longer promoting the formation of complex families in the Western Balkans. Beginning with the 1930's, they gradually disintegrated and gave way to the simple (nuclear) family (Stoianovich 1980, 203).

Indeed, the agricultural history of the Balkans in the medieval period and under the Ottomans can be described to a great extent in terms of periodic vacillations between stockbreeding and crop agriculture. The accompanying oppo-

sition between the sedentary and the pastoral populations, as well as between the sedentary and the pastoral way of life has important economic, social and cultural implications which warrant research. By the twelfth century a conjunction of factors (demographic and economic decline, and internal strife and warfare) had brought about a contraction of arable land and an expansion of "the grazing grounds for the herds of the Wallachians" (Adanir 1989, 134). The designation, "Wallachian," although clearly of an ethnic character, was also applied to herdsmen of different ethnic backgrounds. In different areas of the Balkan peninsula it was used also in other contexts (Marinov 1971, 89–90). The early Ottomans inherited this pattern, and, as has been rightly pointed out, the extensive application of the *jus valachicum* precisely in the western Balkan regions should be seen in this light (Beldiceanu 1957; Beldiceanu and Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1965; Djurdjev 1957; Bojanić-Lukać 1974; Bojanić-Lukać 1975). The Ottomans themselves added to this pattern with the settlement of peasants and nomads from Anatolia. Many of them had the status of *yürüks,* close to the status of the Wallachian population, with which they shared the practice of transhumance.

Circumstantial evidence and persuasive interpretation gives credence to the idea that during the late fifteenth century, and especially during the sixteenth century, there was an advanced sedentation process among the nomads. This was coupled with a conscious policy on the part of the state to encourage the "revification" of the wasteland (Adanir 1989, 138–139).

Although the population history of the Ottoman Empire remains unwritten (but even if it had been, much of it would still remain in the realm of the hypothetical), there is general accord among scholars that altogether the sixteenth century saw a considerable rise in the population, accompanied by intense land reclamation. This was true both in the Balkans and in Anatolia, although most of the concrete studies cover the latter region (Barkan 1953; Barkan 1957; Barkan 1970; Cook 1972; Jennings 1976; Erder and Faroqhi 1979; Faroqhi 1984; Novichev 1960; Meyer 1984; Todorov 1983; Stojanovski 1981). Naturally, there are differences as to the causes for this rise as well as to the extent of the population "boom."

By the 1580s, when the population increase peaked, a whole new set of contradictions had developed: the impoverishment of the peasantry, due to the splitting up of the farmsteads, and resulting in "population pressure"; a contraction of the wheat exports from the Ottoman Empire due to the fact that cereal production could no longer keep pace with demographic growth, and, more specifically, with the provisioning of the big cities, especially Istanbul; the blow of the "price revolution" with the ensuing inflation, which restated the traditional position of some social groups in the empire (Adanir 1989, 140–142).

The seventeenth century in the Ottoman Empire has been subsumed under the notion of "the crisis of the seventeenth century" in Europe, although there

have been differening interpretations of the extent and the character of the crisis (McGowan 1989; Grozdanova 1989; Todorova 1988). Undoubtedly, during this period both Anatolia and the Balkans saw considerable population movements, different degrees of population decrease, changes in the land use, and the re-nomadization of significant tracts of land (Erder and Faroqhi 1979; Hütteroth 1969; Planhol 1959). The contraction of arable land affected not only the recently acquired land by the nomads, but also the traditionally cultivated fields by sedentary peasants (Adanir 1989, 143–144). In a word, this new wave in agriculture away from arable farming to livestock raising is an indisputable phenomenon. Moreover, many of the *çiftliks* which "emerged in substantial numbers during the seventeenth century…were…ranches devoted primarily to stockbreeding" (Adanir 1989, 147).

The eighteenth century saw considerable growth and diversification in all sectors of the Ottoman economy (agriculture, industry, commerce). In land farming there was an increase in cereal production as well as in more intensive crops. Also new crops were introduced (Adanir 1989, 149). By the end of the century, however, the disorders accompanying the rebellions of the *ayans* and the irregular troops resulted in serious dislocations of the rural and the urban population (Kasaba 1988, 21–22). These continued well into the 1820s. It is in these particular circumstances that in some regions a new trend toward stockbreeding, with the ensuing changes in household organization, might have set in.

The suggestion that the *zadruga* can be viewed not as an archaic survival, but as the development of a new (or cyclical) response to the challenges created by new conditions, is merely a viable possibility, which could be proposed as an alternative hypothesis in place of the theory of the long-term existence of the *zadruga*. Instead, what is argued here is solely that this possibility has as many, if not more, valid points, than the generally accepted one. This brings one back to the question of how useful it is to employ the term *zadruga,* especially in comparative studies. One might perfectly agree with the point made by Hammel, "that continuing debate on whether it exists or not, or whether it is an institution peculiar to this or that people or not, is a waste of time" (Hammel 1976, 114–115). Unlike Hammel, who dilutes the term to mean a temporal phase of familial development and implicitly assumes every family to be a potential *zadruga*, one might argue that the term should be dismissed altogether from quantitative historical-demographic analysis.

If the South-Slav *zadruga* were to remain an operational term, so should terms like the French *frèrèche*, the Italian *fratellanza* or the German *Grossfamilie*. Moreover, they should be attributed to some singularly Romance or Germanic characteristics. The reasons for the preservation of *zadruga* are even less compelling, in view of the fact that it is a term which has had only a literary life.

However, it is extremely difficult to part with a favorite term, as the following illustration shows.

In 1976, a commemorative volume on the *zadruga* was published comprising essays by Philip Mosely and essays in his honor (Byrnes 1976). The articles were preceded by a well-deserved laudatory introduction on Mosely's contribution to the comparative study of the family written by Margaret Mead. Mead rightly praised Mosely on having demythologized the *zadruga* in many ways by stripping it of its almost "racial' connotations. She specifically gave Mosely credit for having cleared "the vision of scholars who have been hypnotized by the use of a Balkan term for a Balkan institution" (Mead 1976, xxiii). All the more unexpected were her concluding remarks:

> The continuing use of the term *zadruga* thus permits a double reference, to a kind of household structure and to an area of the world where certain kinds of agriculture, herding, and religious practices prevailed. In 1953, when I reported on the tremendous changes which occurred among the Manus of the territory of New Guinea, Mosely could comment, "It sounds like a *zadruga* fastened to a railroad station." That comment is not the same as if he had said, "It sounds like a joint family attached to a railroad station," or if he had said, "It sounds like something that is happening with modernization in the Balkans." So the term *zadruga* subsumes a kind of historical, geographical specificity which is lost in the cross-culturally more useful term, joint family (Mead 1976, xxv).

Suffice it to say that Margaret Mead also was not exempt from a weakness for the esoteric spell of the word *zadruga*.

The foregoing analysis of different definitions is not an end in itself, simply trying to demonstrate a variety of approaches or biases. The final goal is to try to find an adequate explanation and definition, compatible with the terminological framework already established for other regions. If this is not achieved, any comparison will be irrelevant and any attempt to achieve even a cautious model of the European family impossible.[13]

Where and how, then, does the *zadruga* reenter the argument? If it is dismissed from quantitative historical-demographic analysis, is it therefore impossible to have even an approximate idea of its relative share and distribution?

Laslett's classification is based upon the criterion of co-residence, which is also the criterion used, by and large, in the sources. As has been stressed many times in the course of the argument, the criteria defining the *zadruga* cannot be reduced to co-residence, although this also can be an important component; the *zadruga* is to be described in terms of many more aspects— legal, economic and temporal.

Consequently, in the course of the comparison made here, the terms extended and multiple family are used not as substitutes for the *zadruga* but as existing forms comparable to forms in other European regions. However, as was suggested before, the *zadruga* is qualitatively commensurate with these family types. Since the size of the family is an important element, all *zadruga*s can be safely said to have been extended or multiple families. At the same time, treating the *zadruga* as a complex phenomenon, defined from the point of view of a cluster of different criteria, and set in a concrete historical context, it is apparent that not all extended and multiple families were *zadruga*s.

If E and M represent all extended and multiple families, then:

$$E=Ez+En \text{ and } M=Mz+Mn,$$

where Ez and Mz stand for extended and multiple families of the *zadruga* type, and En and Mn for extended and multiple families not bearing the characteristics of a *zadruga* (Z=Ez+Mz).

$$E+M=Z+En+Mn$$
$$Z=E+M-(En+Mn)$$

The figure for E+M can be computed, but not the one for En+Mn, given the state of the sources. However, whatever the value for En+Mn, which would reflect regional differences, the value for Z would rise or decrease, but would practically always be lower than E+M.

$$Z<E+M$$

The above formula diminishes the relative share of the *zadruga* in the overall typology of the Balkan family, given the fact that the complex household forms (the extended and multiple families) were not statistically predominant. Consequently, all attempts to maintain the predominance of the *zadruga* in Southeastern Europe (and in Bulgaria in particular) are, to say the least, presumptuous.

Notes

1 This is a typical Slavic Turkism. The original Turkish meaning of the word (crew, troop, sailor's gang) has been modified, so as to signify *crowd* or *group* in the Slavic vernaculars.

2 With the exception of R. Sieder and M. Mitterauer, who use life-cycle and life-course as synonyms, but prefer the latter term, life-cycle seems to be the concept used by the overwhelming majority of scholars (Sieder and Mitterauer 1983, 310).

3 It is interesting to note in this respect that, while a Yugoslav scholar points out that kinship is not an obligatory condition for the *zadruga* (Filipović 1976, 286), in Western Bulgaria the farm-servants, though co-residing, were not considered a part of the *zadruga* (Geshov 1887, 443).

4 On the theory of the family life-cycle and a critique of the use of the concept for purposes of sociological, historical and anthropological research, see Cuisenier 1977. There appears to be consensus on the use of the term *life-cycle* as a descriptive tool in a developmental approach to the family, although from an analytical standpoint the criteria for dividing the cycle into separate phases are controversial (Cuisenier 1977, 488). Rodgers stresses differences in the interpretation of a life-cycle which stem from three different approaches to its examination: societal-institutional, group-interactional and individual-psychological (1977, 46). On the interaction of individual and family cycles see Halpern (1977, 353–380). A further useful distinction is proposed by Hill (1977, 32), who uses "life-cycle" as a social time concept and "life-course" as an age-stratification concept.

For an excellent analysis of the medieval sources on the family structure, and specifically on the *zadruga,* see T. Taranovski 1935, 51–64.

6 The Law Code of Czar Stefan Dušan has been published in several forms. The first publication, in 1870, by Stojan Novaković, followed the Prizren manuscript from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Here the second edition of his work has been used (*Zakonik Stefana Dušana,* 1898), where he compares it to other manuscripts. For a facsimilie edition of the Prizren manuscript, see (*Dušanov zakonik* 1953). Other manuscripts are published in (*Zakonik czara Stefana Dušana* 1975, 1981). There are no differences in the text of Article 70 among the various manuscripts.

7 "Great extended kin" has been used for the Bulgarian "*golemi rodove*".

8 This is the Turkish rendering of the original Slavic Bulgarian name Stanimir, a vocal being added when a name begins with two consonants.

9 This unpublished manuscript list in Bulgarian was either sent to Philip Mosely while he was preparing his trip to the Balkans in 1938, or given to him during his stay and field-work in Bulgaria in August-September of the same year. At present the list is part of the archival collection of Professor Mosely, kept at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (*Spisîk na selata* 1926).

10 Even though he used the term *zadruga* for the fourteenth century, Novaković (1891, 247) warned that the medieval Serbian *zadruga* should not be approached from the point of view of the contemporary one.

11 For an excellent overview of the dispute and the relevant literature, see Adanir (1989, 146–154).

12 These observations of Dr. Stojan Genchev have not been published. They were kindly communicated to the author in a conversation in the Ethnographic Institute in Sofia on November 5, 1987.

13 An important contribution to this line of reasoning is provided by Hammel and Laslett 1974, 73–109.

VIII
CONCLUSION

A Hypothesis of Converging Theories

The explanations for the existence of the *zadruga* have been manifold and with a few exceptions have had implicit or explicit ideological connotations. It is not the task of this work to present an exhaustive historiographical overview of theories on the *zadruga* (see Vinski 1938, 42–47; Popović 1921; Mandić 1949, 131–155). However, a sketch of the main trends will help explain the roots of some contemporary evaluations.

It was already mentioned that, until recently evolutionist thinking was predominant in the field of family history. Whereas evolutionist theories, reducing family development to a movement from the complex to the individual, were on the whole abandoned, one of the manifestations of this thinking was until recently alive in Soviet and East European Marxist family theory (or the one that claimed to be Marxist). In this framework the *zadruga* was regarded as a deterministic stage in microsocial development, evolving from the tribal commune, and was considered the predominant form in the tribal and early feudal stages of macrosocial evolution. The dissolution and disappearance of the *zadruga* and the gradual numerical predominance of the small, individual family was attributed to the effects of private property and especially the capitalist market economy (*Etnografiya* 1980, 1980–1985; Pesheva 1965; Pesheva 1972; Markova 1960).

Outside the realm of Marxist jargon but in the same line of evolutionist reasoning, are views of the complex family household as a survival of a primordial state common to all people in the past and encountered in societies with "retarded" development. Such theories treat the *zadruga* as a general transitional form between communal ownership and individual private property in land.

Another less elaborate racial or psychological theory treats the *zadruga* as an immanent Slavic institution. Some authors attribute its existence to the undifferentiated, common and communal mentality of the Slavs as contrasted with the eternal Germanic and Anglo-Saxon individuality and sophistication. The same juxtaposition in the same line of reasoning, but with an opposite evaluation, contrasts the Slavic spirit of peacefulness and democratic cooperation with Germanic individualism, egoism and aggressiveness. The only reason this prim-

itive, antiquated and generally abandoned theory is mentioned is that from time to time it crops up very unexpectedly and obviously unconsciously amidst some modern argumentation.

Following are a few examples, consciously chosen illustrations from works of scholars at the top of the profession. Several authors have pointed out the correlation between the existence of complex households and serfdom in areas like Russia, Poland, the Baltic region, and parts of Germany, Austria, and Hungary. Generalizing on this evidence for Russia, one author argued that

> at least for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries…there existed certain long-standing norms of behavior to which all sections of society bowed as they accepted them implicitly…Such norms would change very slowly, their origin lying well back in Russia's past, since in the nineteenth century a similar family system could be found operating in the area east of the Urals where serfdom was unknown" (Wall 1983, 63).

The last example is based on the description of the Bashkirs, semi-nomadic shepherds. It is doubtful that this Muslim people of Turkic origins, which was incorporated into the Russian Empire with varying success only from the seventeenth century on, can support a worthwhile argument on something rather undefined "well back in Russia's past." Russia's? Russian? How far back? But the expression itself is curious against the background of an otherwise very careful and sophisticated wording. One wonders what would be the scholarly reception of an unspecified argument framed simply as "something well back in England's past."

Looking for parallels with the Russian distributional land commune (the *mir*), some authors took a semi-racial, semi-legal approach, seeing the *zadruga* as a necessary product of specific traits of Slavdom in a serf environment. Commenting that the household formation system among the Russian serfs can be encountered also among populations outside Russia, one author compared it to Croatia. He pointed out that "the Croatian population comprised large numbers of serfs" and concluded that "a Slav tradition shared with the Russians may be relevant to the interpretation of this phenomenon" (Hajnal 1983, 91–92). A refreshing exception is the very brief but excellent treatment of the Slavic commune (*obshtina*) in a paragraph entitled "Esprit collectiviste douteux," by Portal (1965, 15).

The spread and acceptance of the "Slavic theory" by specialists on the Balkan region is highly dubious. Serfdom existed only in some peripheral regions of the Balkans, namely among the Croats, the Hungarians, and in the Romanian Principalities. Besides, Slavs with a lack of serf tradition did not conform to this predominant household type (Czechs, Slovenes, the majority of the Bulgarians, and others). As it is, this argumentation is just a step away from introducing the argument about the mysterious Russian or Slavic soul.

On the other hand, the extended and multiple family of the *zadruga* type was not confined to the Slavic population of the region, but also was to be found among Albanians and Hungarians (if one were to accept the broader geographical version of the Balkans as including Hungary) (Andorka and Faragó 1983; Andorka 1976; Morvay 1965; Gunda 1982).

The problem of whether the *zadruga* is a peculiarly South Slavic phenomenon, or whether it is encountered also among people of non-Slav or other Slavic origins, was one of the foci of Philip Mosely's fieldwork in the Balkans in the 1930s. In 1938, after he returned from his fieldwork in the Balkans, he submitted a report to the Social Science Research Council. In it he included a summary of results, which were to be the basis for a book he intended to publish by 1940 but never did. His observations on the communal multiple family (or *zadruga*) among the Albanians, in particular, led him to believe "that the institution may not be of Slavic origin, as has been uniformly assumed; its origin may go back to the original Illyrian-Macedonian inhabitants" (Mosely 1938a, 6).[1] Although this latter contention was marked down only as a preliminary hypothesis, never to be proven or further elaborated, Mosely's work was the first to document the presence of this family form, and the *zadruga*l way of life among the Albanians (see also Grossmith 1976; Whitaker 1976).

In a recent publication, Francis Conte argued that the existence of extended families among Hungarians, Albanians, and Romanians was due solely to Slavic influences (1986, 317). He also maintained that the *zadruga* was encountered more often among Orthodox and Muslim, rather than among Catholic populations. This is difficult to accept, in view of the fact that the *zadruga* was particularly well represented among the Catholic Croats and had entered their legal code (Conte 1986, 318). As to his first contention, there is a particularly striking example in the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier, one of the classical *zadruga* zones. Three main groups inhabited this region: the Croatians, the Vlachs[2], and the Bunjevces[3]. All of them had fled the Ottoman territories (the latter also the Venetian territories) and had settled in the Military Frontier already during the sixteenth, but chiefly at the beginning of the seventeenth century as free peasants. The first immigrant families among all these groups were almost exclusively simple families. Over the course of time, however, the family structure changed. Whereas the simple family remained the predominant type in the Croatian villages, most of the families among both the Orthodox and the Catholic Vlachs were of the *zadruga* type. This has led to the logical assumption that, even before their resettlement, the Croatians had lived in typically small, individual families, whereas the non-Slavic Vlachs, alongside the Serbs, show evidence of an extended- and multiple-family tradition (Kaser 1985, 18–19). This too, however, was temporary. From the beginning of the eighteenth century a rapid division of the Vlach families took place, whereby the proportion of simple families among them

steadily grew. One of the plausible explanations, advanced by Kaser, (although it does not shed much light on the particular timing of the process) was the existing land property system in the Military Frontier (Kaser 1985, 20).

An even more striking example comes from the middle of the eighteenth century. At that time the Habsburgs changed the status of the Military Frontier and its population. From a loose organization for the protection and defense of the border, the Military Frontier became part of the imperial army. The Austrian authorities prohibited the division of families of the *zadruga* type in order to secure a permanent supply of men for the military service. According to the calculations of the military authorities, it was assumed that a viable family should have at least three adult males in order to be able to survive without difficulty the withdrawal of one for military service. Nuclear families did not have the necessary male potential. On the other hand, *zadruga*s would tend to divide, in order to avoid conscription (Kaser 1985, 21).

The result of the new legal and administrative pressure was such that, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the proportion of families of the *zadruga* type had risen from about one quarter, or at the most one third, of the border families to over half their number.

The *zadruga*s became typical not only for the Vlach/Serbian population, which might be said to have had a propensity for such family organizations, but also among the Croats. What is most surprising, is the fact that they became numerous also among the families of Czechs, Slovaks, and Germans, who had settled in the Military Frontier during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Kaser 1985, 22).

To return to theories about the *zadruga,* still other scholars, mostly those with legal training, held that it was a product of the specific fiscal and legal systems of the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires, whose taxation was based on the hearth or household, rather than on the individual. It was argued that the joint family was seen as a means to lessen the tax burden (Mandić 1949, 144–149; Gavazzi 1982, 100–101).

The *zadruga* appears to be the ideal case for myth-making and for the perpetuation of a myth. Introduced as an object for ethnographic and legal research in the second half of the nineteenth century, it soon became a focus of theorizing efforts. As the outstanding scholar of the *zadruga* Bogišić expressed it as early as 1884:

> Thanks to certain constitutive elements of this family, which have given rise to reflections by historians of law as well as by sociologists in general, no other social institution of the Slavs, with the exception of the Russian *mir*, has provided the writers of Western Europe with a more frequent subject of studies (Bogišić 1884b, 379).

Although various theories stemmed from different, often basically contrasting motives, their converging effect was identical—the eternalization of the myth.

Indigenous scholars had a polarized emotional attitude towards the *zadruga.* Most of its champions (and they comprised the majority of local scholars) acclaimed its existence for one of two opposing reasons. Traditionalists (or indigenists, autochtonists, protochronists or simply conservative nationalists) saw in it the unique local institution that would save the peculiarity and cultural identity of the peoples *vis à vis* the disruptive modernizing influence of the West by promoting virtues such as solidarity and mutual aid.

Others, accentuating what they saw as the eternal democratic and cooperative spirit of the *zadruga,* hoped that this would provide the natural road to a new social order. Thus, Svetozar Marković, one of the founders of socialism in Serbia, considered the *zadruga* "the purest form of collectivism," which would "elevate society from egoism to altruism, from exploitation to justice" (cited in Halpern and Kerewski-Halpern 1972, 18).

Unlike Marković, the founder of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party (later the Communist Party), Dimitîr Blagoev, had no illusions about the historical destiny of the *zadruga*. Arguing his case against the assertion that there was no basis for socialism in Bulgaria, he claimed in 1891 that capitalism was an unavoidable stage in the development of the country, and that all hopes of avoiding this evolution through the preservation or resurrection of the largely defunct *zadruga* were in vain (Blagoev 1891; Blagoev 1985, 209–219; Rothschild 1959). In these views of his, Blagoev was in line with the position of Plekhanov *vis à vis* historical developments in Russia, rather than with Lenin's firm support of the village commune, expounded in 1902 (Lenin vol.6, 344). Lenin himself was obviously following Karl Marx, who in 1882 was considering the place and future role of the Russian commune: 'Can the Russian *obshchina*, though greatly undermined, yet a form of the primeval common ownership of land, pass directly to the higher form of communist common ownership? Or on the contrary, must it first pass through the same process of dissolution as constitutes the historical evolution of the West?" (Marx 1882, 557)

With the proliferation of quasi-scholarly literature of the "Volksgeist" type (especially after the turn of the century, and during the interwar period), the *zadruga* was singled out as the most important factor for the preservation of the Bulgarians against the assimilation attempts of Greeks and Turks. It shaped the Bulgarian "national character" and the "collective soul" of the nation. Family life in the *zadruga* cultivated respect for the elderly, the preservation of patriarchal virtues, tolerance of and consideration for the opinion of others, respect for the labor of each member of the family and love for the community. It certainly developed primarily the collectivism of the Bulgarians, rather than their individualism. "But the Bulgarian collectivism has nothing to do with the Russian

'mir' or 'skhod,' which are, in fact, a despotic tyranny of the majority over the minority, of the old over the young; on the contrary, here [in the Bulgarian case] there is a wondrous harmonic combination between the collectivism and the freest individualism: the Bulgarian does not bear tyranny, and he himself does not exercise it" (Panov 1914, 422).

This could serve merely as another exotic example of a peculiar literary *genre*, had not its spirit and argumentation been redundant in almost all writings about the *zadruga*.

Much of the ethnographic literature after the Second World War is also full of value-ridden characteristics of the *zadruga*. This is reflected even in the three-volume ethnography of Bulgaria published in the 1980s, and supposed to present the synthesis of several decades of scholarship. The underlying scheme is predictably based upon the presumed opposition between, on one hand, the inherently collective and democratic values of the *zadruga*, such as "mutual help, moral solidarity, respect due to the elderly and to the experienced, honest and respectable relations, etc."; and, on the other, the "system of new class normatives, reflected in the new social bourgeois mentality (submission to wealth, social and class alienation, individualism, the exacerbated prestige of property, etc." (*Etnografiya* 1980, 285).

The attacks on the *zadruga*, though mild and much less considerable in number, came precisely from the opposite viewpoint: the *zadruga* was regarded as perpetuating a conservative, traditional structure which would not give way to the new modernizing social currents (Ivšić 1926; Ivšić 1933; Ivšić 1937–1938; Gavazzi 1934; Bičanić 1936; Erlich 1966; Sicard 1947; Filipović 1976). In the opinion of one of the most enlightened and westernized literary critics of the first decades of the century, Boyan Penev, the greatest fault of the *zadruga* was the curbing of individual initiative, the cultivation of a slave mentality, provincialism, and xenophobia (Penev 1976, 143–145).

For all their diverse motives, the partisans of the different approaches invariably overstated their argumentation and consequently helped promote an exaggerated view of the place and role of the *zadruga* in the social life of the Balkans and specifically of the South Slavs. This is particularly true in the case of the Bulgarians where, as we have seen from the previous chapter, the *zadruga* was not a predominant form, and was characteristic only for specific geographic areas. It is ironic that for almost a whole century writers dealing with the influence of the *zadruga* on the social and cultural life of the nation, would fall back on the same single example. In 1892 Dimitîr Marinov published his interview with an old man from one of the villages in Northwest Bulgaria: *dedo* (grandfather) Pîrvan Krîstev from Progorelets, district of Lom (Marinov 1892a, 214–217; Draganov 1984, 298–299). In the interviews, the old man extolled the virtues of the *zadru-*

ga of his youth. Ending with the characteristic and bitter: "And now! Oh, dear, now…," it is equally a nostalgic ode to the lost *zadruga* and to lost youth.

The Pîrvan Krîstev interview was replicated by Todor Panov (1914), Anton Strashimirov (1923) and Ivan Khadzhiiski (1940–1943), the other three colossi of the Bulgarian folk psychology alongside D. Marinov, and later by Marko Semov (1972). Characteristically, none of them specified their source, thus giving the impression that each had personally interviewed the old man (Draganov 1984, 19, 32).

Foreign evaluations could also be roughly divided in two main approaches. Scholars of the region treated the Balkans as "the Volksmuseum of Europe," to borrow Hammel's apt dictum: "The social organization and culture of the Balkans [were] regarded as a still-living example of what life must have been like in the misty past of the Indo-European peoples" (Hammel 1980, 242).

Studying the *zadruga* as the *chef d'oeuvre* of this museum through a magnifying glass certainly left its imprint on the proportions of the general picture. While romantic and evolutionist theories were substituted for empirical research, mainly in the interwar period, serious and balanced assessments began to appear.

Another approach, originating with non-Balkan specialists, helped to perpetuate the romantic image of the *zadruga*. It began with the efforts to classify existing knowledge and create a model based on typological differences.

One of the first taxonomical approaches to family history was that of Frederick Le Play, the nineteenth century French sociologist. In fact a lot of his major ideas can be traced in contemporary theories of family history, especially after the renewed interest in his literary legacy (*Recueil* 1956; Brooke 1970). According to Le Play, families could be divided into three types: the patriarchal family, the stem family, and the unstable family. The first, according to him, was common among Eastern nomads, Russian peasants and the Slavs of Central Europe. Le Play viewed the patriarchal family as a necessity of life in the case of the nomads who could not exist in isolation, and as a product of the feudal organization of property in the case of the sedentary farmers. The other extreme, the unstable family prevailed "among the working-class populations subject to the new manufacturing system of Western Europe" and its spread was due chiefly to the forced division of property (Le Play 1982, 260). The intermediate type, the stem-family, was a kind of social organization in which only one married child remained with the parents, whereas the rest received a dowry.

In this classification inheritance laws and the division of property were the chief criteria in defining the different types of families. However, when Le Play explained these differences, he referred to inherent psychological qualities manifested, in Le Play's view, in French history. The equal division of property among heirs was for Le Play

> an expression of ancient Gaul's individualism, which neither Romans nor Franks, Christianity nor monarchy could ever subdue. The Gallic spirit resisted the collective forces personified by the head of the family, just as it resisted such collective encroachments as communes and the state (Le Play 1982, 271).

Le Play was *par excellence* the moralistic taxonomist and an undisguised champion of the stem-family. For him:

> as the peoples of Europe become freer and more prosperous, they modify the patriarchal family, which relies too heavily on the cult of tradition, while at the same time rejecting the unstable family, which is constantly undermined by the spirit of innovation. Firmly adhering to their religious beliefs and the principle of individual property, they tend more and more to organize in stem families, which satisfy both of these tendencies—tradition and innovation—and reconcile two equally imperious needs: a respect for good traditions and the search for useful changes (Le Play 1982, 262).

Although Le Play's utopianism was rejected, many of his ideas were further developed. A curious version of the taxonomist approach, resulting in further consolidating the myth, is today's attempt at postulating the uniqueness of the Northwest European family, and particularly the English *Sonderweg* (Macfarlane 1978; Macfarlane 1987).

Certainly the extreme case, and the most overtly politicized one, is the recent work of Emmanuel Todd, widely acclaimed as challenging and innovative (Todd 1985; Todd 1987). Todd's first book,[4] which is concerned specifically with the correlation between family structure and social system, postulates the existence of seven main types (three nuclear and four complex), presumed to have been fairly stable for the last four centuries. It further seeks to establish and prove the validity of the relationship between family types and political attitudes, assuming that "the geographical stability of political attitudes [is] a stability which reflects on the ideological plane the stability of family types on the anthropological level" (Todd 1985, vii).

The European experience, according to Todd, can be described by a four-family-types model, comprising the nuclear, authoritarian, egalitarian-nuclear, and community family. Each of these types is geographically determined. The nuclear is typical for England, the Netherlands, Denmark and Northwestern France; North America represents an extension of this model. The authoritarian family is to be encountered in Germany and the adjacent countries of Central Europe -Austria, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Belgium; in most of Scandinavia; in parts of France and Spain; in Ireland and in Scotland. One version of it outside Europe

is Japan. Next, the egalitarian-nuclear family is characteristic of France, most of Italy, Spain, Portugal, Poland, Romania, and Greece. Finally, the community family prevails in Russia, Finland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, small patches of Italy and Southern France; to these, in a global perspective, are added China, Vietnam, Cuba, and North India (Todd 1985, IX).

Further on, each of the European family types is characterized by certain underlying values. As is to be expected, the two opposing types—the nuclear and the community family— are each defined by two opposing values. The nuclear family goes with liberty and inequality (understand: individualism), whereas the community family cherishes virtues like authority and equality (understand: uniformity and conformity) (Todd 1985, 16).

Significantly, the problem of the ideological legacy of the Slavic communal family, and especially the famous Russian *obshchina*, was raised in the heated discussions during the 1980s on the economic future of the Soviet Union. In what was considered one of the groundbreaking articles of reformist thinking during the perestroika period, Vasilii Seliunin emphasized the fundamental relationship between forms of property and civil rights. Predictably, in his view the village commune was a conservative institution, hostile to private property, and consequently, to any kind of capitalist development. Unlike Todd, who extrapolates family types out of their historical context and, by postulating their stability on the anthropological level, creates an absolute, Seliunin emphasized the crucial role of the state. He maintained that the village commune was introduced, or at least upheld, from above, after the profound changes under Ivan IV (the Terrible) during the sixteenth century. The abolition of serfdom during the nineteenth century, and particularly the specific ways in which the reform of 1861 was implemented, preserved and even further consolidated the *obshchina*. The Stolypin reforms in the decade before the October Revolution were in fact the first major transformation aimed at enhancing individual property to the detriment of the commune. However, the introduction of "war communism" and the confiscation of land from the *kulaks* put an end to these reforms. The confiscated land was not redistributed among the peasants, but became communal land. Thus, Selyunin concludes, "the forms of land ownership, peculiar to old Russia, were *de facto* restored" (Seliunin 1988, 185–186; see also Bartlett 1990).

Without relying on abundant evidence, which one would deem necessary to feed the Spenglerian or Toynbean holistic visionary ambition displayed in the text, and without being even disturbed by the lack of it, Emmanuel Todd categorically asserts that countries like "Russia, China, Vietnam, Yugoslavia, Albania and Hungary—that is the six old-world countries which spontaneously produced communist revolutions—are all of the exogamous community type. They are recognized as such by ethnologists and pose no further theoretical problems" (Todd 1985, 39–40). Here there is no need to deal in further detail with

the methodology and ideas of this book and its logical sequel, *The Causes of Progress* (1987).

Clearly, though not explicitly, family history has had specific and strong ideological connotations. This is especially true for the attempt to model the European family and postulate the uniqueness of the West European experience. This attempt has been manifested mainly in two trends. One is implying, but never rudely stating, the normative (and, also, natural) character of the Northwest European, and chiefly the English, family structure. In this line of reasoning, the rest of Europe (and by induction, the rest of the world) comes out as, if not an aberration of the normative model, then at least struggling against the vicissitudes of economic, social and cultural constraints in order to approach this model.

The other trend proceeds from the assumption of the relative independence of societies, and the centrality of the family for society as a whole. In its extreme version this trend presents a rather vulgarized sociological explanation. While it does not explicitly position the English experience and achievement at the top of an hierarchical value structure, this is implicitly contained in the presumption of a direct correlation between the nuclear family, and the democratic social structures and social values.

Even if one puts aside the methodological critique of the European family model, one point should be made clear. Sound and consequently time-consuming scholarly research on Eastern Europe, and the Balkans in particular, is still so meager that it is impossible to draw valid general conclusions for the region, let alone embark on a broad comparativistic venture.

A Summary of Conclusions

In stressing the contrasts between some of the Balkan data and the ones from other East European areas, as well as the interregional variations in the Balkan region itself, I should not like to smooth out or overlook differences with Western Europe. The aim was rather to warn against an overemphasis of these differences, which inevitably results in an oversimplification.

No doubt, quantitative differences are not the only or most reliable means to establish diversity. Also, the lack of sharply contrasting quantitative data is not explicit proof for the absence of significant differences.

John Hajnal apparently had this in mind when he wrote that "the joint household systems did not normally produce a situation where the majority of households were joint at any one time, though there have been joint household systems, which have operated in that way. However, under a joint household system, the majority of people were members of a joint household at some stage in their lives" (Hajnal 1983, 69).

It seems that the major distinction between the ideal type of the West European family and the Southeast European (or Balkan one) lies not so much in the quantitative differences but, rather, in the fact that in the Balkans the extended and multiple family type was more often and for a longer period a developmental stage of the individual family life-cycle. To this should be added the important idea of the joint family structure as an ideological perception, as developed by Joel M. Halpern and Richard A. Wagner (1984).

A similar observation about the Arab and Indian family systems was made years ago by William J. Goode, who later generalized it on the theoretical level:

> Perhaps in many systems what we had come to think of as the idealized type of family structure, the one that is valued most highly by the society, may actually turn out to be only one stage in the development of particular families over their family cycle (1977, 65).

In refuting certain myths, family history paves the way for the introduction of others. Thus, the myth of the extended family in Western Europe having been abandoned, two others set in and have since been dominant: the myth of the small, nuclear family, and the myth of the individualistic European (also called English, Northwest European or Western) *Sonderweg*. As is to be expected, any myth can be used as a "scientific" argument for an ideology, and family myths have been no exception.

In attempting to rectify an overdrawn generalization concerning Southeastern Europe, and especially Bulgaria, in the model of the European family, I should certainly not like to fall into the pit of the other extreme, and postulate the victory of the nuclear family theory.

As I have tried to suggest, and this is something that has to be elaborated at greater length and in an anthropological framework, in the Balkans there is a whole set of kinship, labor and other structures, which characterize the joint system, but are invisible and not reflected in the written sources (Stahl 1986, 78–80; *Etnografiya* 1980, 318, 437).[5] This raises the important question: What do the sources reflect, and how should their information be interpreted—as social fact or artifact? The answer is not simple and requires a concrete investigation in each particular case. In some instances, it can be fairly easily proven that the source gives an adequate picture of existing social forms (this is essentially what was attempted in one of the previous paragraphs); in others, it is clearly an artificial structure. For the purposes of the present argument, however, I do not consider this problem a major hindrance. After all, family history itself lies on the intersection between social fact and meaning. What seems more significant is that there is at our disposal a whole set of data of much the same type, covering all European areas. The biases and deviations would be *common* to all the sources. No matter

what the final verdict on the most important issue, "social fact or artifact," in this particular case the central question is whether these data are *comparable*.

The other aspect which was emphasized throughout this book was the need for a compatible terminology. The ensuing typology of the European family, based on similar sources and using a common terminology, would have, for all its drawbacks,[6] one merit at least—it would give a valid basis for comparison between historic and geographic regions of the continent. What follows from the description of the household structure in Bulgaria in the preceding chapters, in combination with the specific nuptiality patterns, puts it closest to what has been generally designated as the Mediterranean type.

Of course, there have not been, for the Balkans, comprehensively elaborated models of household structure, comparable to the ones existing for other European regions. Yet insofar as there have been attempts at theorizing, the difference is based on the relative emphasis assigned to a variety of factors and their treatment as central or dependant variables: social structure and culture (especially the social value system), economy, and environmental constraints.

In chapter VI, a model was proposed (Figure 6.2) to describe the interplay between vital events (fertility, nuptiality and mortality), inheritance patterns (partible and impartible systems), the methods of domestic group formation (neolocality or the absence of it), and their ensuing effects on the size of the family household and its complexity. It was shown that in the case of Bulgaria there was the combination of two sets of factors which affected family size and structure in opposing ways. On one hand, partible inheritance would work in the direction of simplifying family structure and favoring smaller family units. On the other hand, the absence of neolocality as a precondition for marriage, tended to produce bigger and more complex family households for a longer or shorter period of time, depending on the timing of fission.

Both partibility and the absence of neolocality would exert a positive influence on nuptiality, resulting in an increased number of marriages or, as in the case of Bulgaria and the Balkans in general, in a practically universal nuptiality, and an early marriage age. At the same time, it seems that this should not be conceived of as a simple one-way relationship. Treating nuptiality not merely as a vital event but as an important ingredient in the system of societal values, it is doubtless that, for its part, it would exert a reverse influence.

Via their influence on nuptiality and migration, the different inheritance systems also affect the overall population growth. Partible inheritance, by enhancing nuptiality and slowing down migration, would favor population growth, while impartible inheritance, by restricting the number of marriages and promoting migration, would limit it. Further, population growth and hence the demographic pressure exercised on a society with finite resources (chiefly land) would, for its part, play a relaxing or rigidifying role on the systems of inheritance (Figure 8.1).

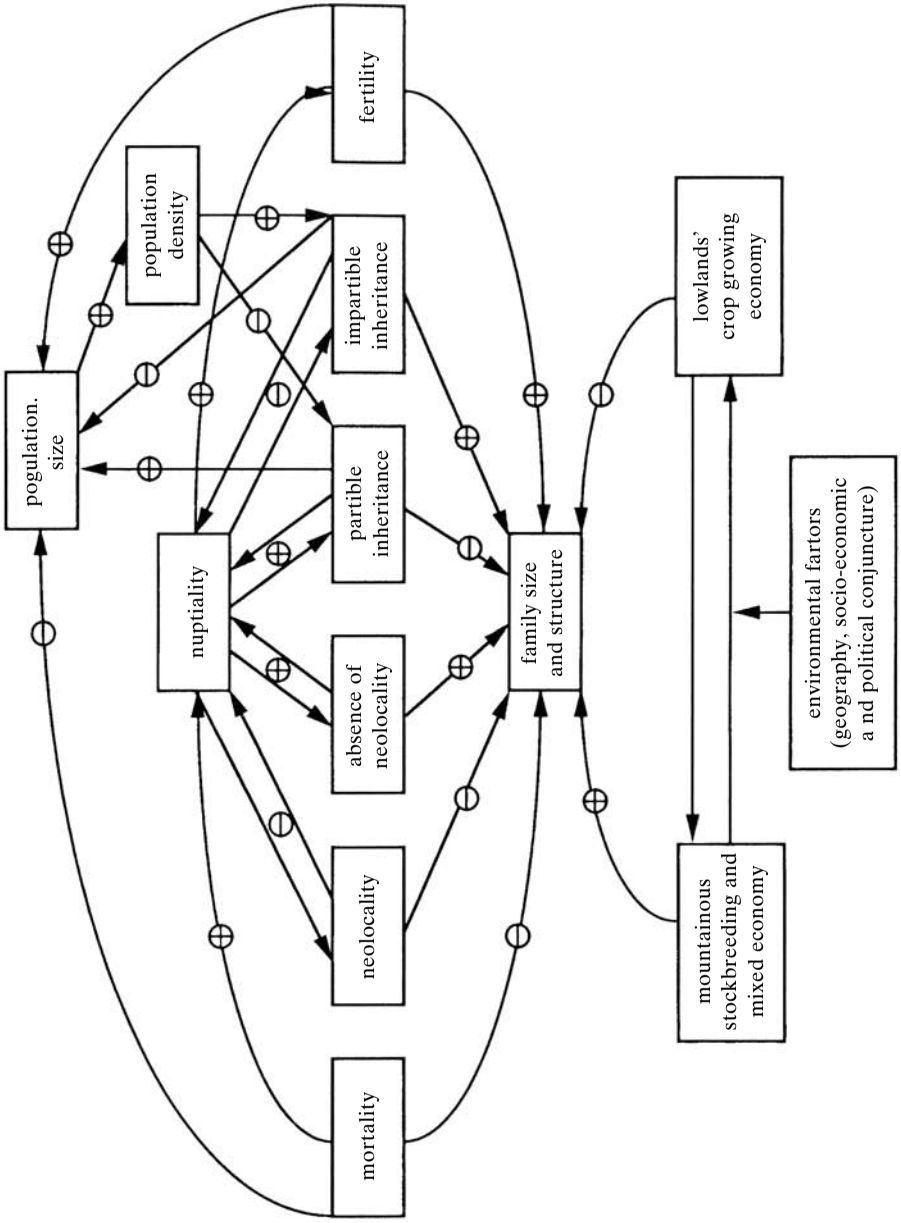


Figure 8.1. Correlation between demographic events, social structure, and ecological system

It has already been argued (Chapter VI) that the partible inheritance system in the Balkans, and in Bulgaria in particular, should not be interpreted as merely a functional reflection of communal relations. Moreover, it has been hypothesized that a very important element working in this direction was the low population density in the Balkans, and the consequent relative abundance of land due to a more relaxed demographic regime, at least until the end of the nineteenth century.

Finally, while examining the elements characterizing the *zadruga* and its geographical distribution (Chapter VII), an alternative hypothesis was advanced placing greater emphasis on environmental constraints rather than on cultural and ideological factors. The geographical frequency of *zadrugas* unequivocally follows the curve of the mountain terrain in the Balkans overriding ethnic boundaries. Also, at least on the basis of the Bulgarian material, it can be assumed that the majority of the extended and multiple families of the *zadrugal* type were engaged in animal farming or mixed stockbreeding—crop-growing economy.[7] The very rationale of the different economic activities results in a different degree of complexity of family organization, as shown in the model in Figure 8.1.

Clearly, as in any model, reductionism is the price for clarity. Yet clarity is the obligatory first step to understanding.

Notes

1 Mosely's collection, among others, contains an interesting unpublished case-study of an Albanian *zadruga* (Mosely 1938b).
2 These were Orthodox, and belonged ethnically as much to the Vlachs as to the Serbs.
3 Also described as Catholic Vlachs.
4 *The Explanation of Ideology: Family Structures and Social Systems* (1985).
5 It is remarkable that Shishkov (1936, 97–100), when describing the different forms of professional associations and cooperatives among the *pomaks* in the Rhodopes, uses the word *zadruga*.
6 Stahl (1986, 170) lamented the use of pseudo-classifications which are going to continue to be made. Representing primarily an anthropological point of view, he typically saw the remedy in a more careful comparative analysis of individual roles in the domestic group in a European context.
7 A somewhat different explanation based on the different historical experience of the Serbs but, essentially stressing as well the ecological context, is provided by Halpern and Hammel (1977, 31): "A flexible, adaptive kinship system suited to rapid geographical expansion and exploitation of land, to quick dispersal and reassembly under trying political conditions, and to the assembly of trusted workers and fighters was the key to these patterns. Like the lineages of the Nuer of the Sudan, of the Bedouin, the ancient Hebrews, or the tribes of the Völkerwanderung, the *zadruge* and *vamilije* of the Serbs were the social vehicle for a fluctuating response to uncertain ecological conditions."

APPENDIX I
THE SOURCES

This appendix consists of two lists and a map:

1. List of the primary sources used in the book.
2. List of the Catholic parish registers available to date in Bulgaria.
3. Map indicating the geography of the sources.

1. Primary Sources

A. Ottoman Sources

Unpublished

St. Cyril and Methodius National Library, Sofia. Oriental Department: D 700: *Cizye* register of the population of Varna, middle of 19th century; TL 15/5: Population register of Hadzhioglu Pazardzhik (Dobrich), 1865/66; SI 30/4: Population register of Silistra, 1865/66; F.179, a.e.3369: Population register of Tîrnovo, 1865/66; BD 9/5: Population registers of Babadag and the Babadag *kaẓa* 1871.

Published

Slavka Draganova. *Materiali za Dunavskiya vilaet* (*Rusenska, Silistrenska, Shumenska i Tutrakanska kaza*) *prez 50-te–70-te godini na XIX vek*. Sofia, 1980; Tevfik Güran. *Structure économique et sociale d'une région de campagne dans l'Empire Ottoman vers le milieu du XIXe siècle.* Sofia, 1980; *Turski izvori za bîlgarskata istoriya*. Seriya XV–XVI vek. Sîst. i red. B. Cvetkova i V. Mutafchieva. Sofia, 1964; *Turski izvori za bîlgarskata istoriya*. Seriya XV–XVI vek. Sîst. i red. N. Todorov i B. Nedkov. Sofia, 1966.

B. Catholic Parish Registers

Unpublished

City and District Archives—Plovdiv: Fond # 388 K, op.1. Documentation of the Catholic church "St. Andrew," the village of Kaloyanovo (formerly Seldzhikovo): a.e.2. Birth, marriage and death register for Kaloyanovo, Duvanli, Miromir and Zhitnica, 1818–1838; a.e.12. *Liber status animarum* for Kaloyanovo, 1818–1838, memoir on the plague and other documents. Fond # 397 K, op.1, a.e.1. *Liber baptizatorum* (1833–1876) for the village of Baltadzhi (today the quarter Sekirovo of the town of Rakovski, district of Plovdiv).

National Historical Museum—Sofia: Liber matrimoniarum (1834–1886); *Liber mortuourum* (1840–1872); *Liber confirmatorum* (1840–1926) for the village of Baltadzhi.

Chief Management of the Archives—Sofia, Directorate "Historical heritage": Liber mortuorum (1833–1838) for Baltadzhi; marriage contract from the 1890s and other documents.

"Saint Michael Archangel" parish church of Rakovski: Liber baptizatorum (1877–1891) for the village of Baltadzhi

C. Ethnological Material

Unpublished

Archives of the Ethnographical Institute and Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences: 49–II, villages in the district of Pleven; 151, Shirokidol, district of Samokov; 163–II, Shipka, district of Tîrnovo; 173–II, Mirovci, district of Novi Pazar; 206, Stoilovo, district of Malko Tîrnovo; 220–II, 221–II, Slatina, district of Lovech; 256–II, Pîrvomay, Strumeshnica, Struma, district of Blagoevgrad; 266, Bistrica, district of Kyustendil; 268, Borislavci, district of Svilengrad; 296–II, Gega and Krîstilci, district of Petrich; 370–II, villages in the Rhodopes; 394–II, Dobrodan, district of Troyan; 452–II, Gramada, district of Vidin; 456–II, Selanovci, Gigen, Galiche, Staverci, Sokolare, Lazarovo, Golyamo Peshtene, Gabare, Kulata, Gorna Beshtovica, Pavolche, Rebûrkovo, Redina, Osenovlak, districts of Vraza, Sofia and Pleven; 490–II, Gramada, district of Vidin; 563, Negovanovci, district of Vidin; 598–II, Etropole; 649–II, Kalipetrovo, Sokol, Kaynardzha, Prof. Ishirkovo, Babuk, Zafirovo, Garvan, Mayor Cenovich, Nova Cherna, district of Silistra; 665: Sopot and Ugîrchin, district of Lovech; 667,

Gigen, district of Nikopol; 697–II, Izvorovo, district of Khaskovo; 699–II, Sîrnica, district of Khaskovo; 702–II, Bîlgarin (Syulemenchevo), district of Khaskovo; 703–II, Yerusalimovo, district of Khaskovo 704–II, Gorno Bryastovo, district of Khaskovo; 705–II, Dinevo, district of Khaskovo; 766–II, Pirin, Gorna Sushica, Razdol, Oshtava, Padezh, Dîbrava, district of Blagoevgrad; 767–II, Dobûrsko, Kremen, Gostun, Konarsko, Lîzhnica, Slashten, Gorno Cerovo, district of Blagoevgrad; 768–II, Teshovo, Paril, Ilinden, Delchevo, Dolen, district of Blagoevgrad; 784–II, Debrene, Dzhigurovo, Dolene, Lyubovica, Mikrevo, Dobri Laki, Goleshevo, Khîrsovo, Melnik, Gorno Brodi, Banica, district of Ograzhden, Pirin mountain; 785–II, district of Debîr; 830–II, Kodzhabunar, district of Balikesir, Asia Minor; 869–II, Rogosh, Belozem (Geren), Choba, Golyamo Konare, Duvanlii, Nedelevo, district of Plovdiv; 870–II, Mrachenik, Vassil Levski, district of Plovdiv; 883–II, Kramolin, district of Gabrovo; 884–II, Lovnidol, district of Gabrovo; 885–II, Stanchev khan, district of Gabrovo; 886–II, Kormyansko, district of Gabrovo; 887–II, Krîvenik, district of Gabrovo; 888–II, Batoshevo, district of Gabrovo; 995, Pastukh, Skrino, Dobrovo, Boboshevo, Borovec, Dragodan, Buranovo, Krumovo, Pîrvica, Frolosh, district of Stanke Dimitrov; 1002, Dropla, district of Tolbukhin, villages in the district of Kotel.

Archives of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign: Philip E. Mosely Collection, 1927–1972, RS 15/35/51, Box 48, Spisîk na selata, koito imat mnogochlenni domakinstva s 20 i poveche chlenove, (31. XII. 1926); The Study of the *Zadruga* or Communal Joint-Family, as a Basis for Studying the Social History of the Balkans; A *Zadruga* in Albania: the Household of Pasho Hys.

Published

Dimitîr Marinov. *Zhiva starina*. Kniga 1. Vyarvaniyata ili sueveriyata na naroda. Ruse, 1891; Kniga 2. Plemenata, vlakite, zadrugite, semeystvata, imenata i korovete v Zapadna Bîlgariya (Vidinsko, Kulsko, Belogradchishko, Lomsko, Berkovsko, Oryakhovsko i Vrachansko). Ruse, 1892; Kniga 3. Semeyniyat zhivot na naroda—zhenitba, krîshtenie, umirane, sluzhba, sbor, obrok, tlaka, sedyanka, khoro, natemiya (prokletiya) v Zapadna Bîlgariya. Ruse, 1892; Kniga 4. Narodno obichayno pravo; Kniga 5. Gradivo za veshtestvenata kultura na Zapadna Bîlgariya. Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniya, kn.XVIII. Materiali. Sofia, 1901; Kniga 6. Narodno karatelno (uglavno) obichayno pravo. Sofia, 1907; Kniga 7. Narodna vyara i religiozni narodni obichai. Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniya, kn.XXVI-II. Sofia, 1914. (Most of these materials have been published again in Dimitîr Marinov. *Izbrani proizvedeniya*, t.II. Sofia, 1984.

2. Catholic Parish Registers in Bulgaria

Following is a description of the available sources from several Catholic parishes, all in the Plovdiv region. The letters in brackets (AP), (NM) and (C) indicate whether the register is in the City and District Archives of Plovdiv, in the National Museum in Sofia, or in the local church. The last date mentioned is 1961, the year of the last inspection, but the registration is continuing today.

Sekirovo (*since 1966 a townsquarter of Rakovski; until 1934 known as Baltadzhi*). *Church "Sveti Mikhail Arkhangel"* (*St. Michael Archangel*)

Liber baptizatorum, 1833–1876 (AP) Liber confirmatorum, 1840–1926 (NM)
Liber baptizatorum, 1877–1901 (C) Liber matrimoniarum, 1834–1886 (NM)
Liber baptizatorum, 1902–1927 (C) Liber baptizatorum, 1928–1951 (C)
Liber matrimoniarum, 1928–1961 (C) Liber baptizatorum, 1928–1951 (C)
Liber baptizatorum, 1952–1956 (C) Liber mortuourum, 1840–1872(NM)
Liber baptizatorum, 1957–1961 (C) Liber mortuorum, 1873–1911 (C)
Liber confirmatorum, 1927–1961 (C) Liber mortuorum, 1928–1961 (C)

Zhitnitsa (*until 1934 Khambarli*). *Church "Uspenie bogorodichno"* (*Dormition of the Virgin*)

Liber baptizatorum, 1797–1834 (AP) Liber matrimoniarum, 1889–1924 (C)
Liber baptizatorum, 1835–1883 (AP) Liber matrimoniarum, 1925–1961 (C)
Liber baptizatorum, 1883–1904 (C) Liber mortuorum, 1837–1884 (AP)
Liber baptizatorum, 1904–1926 (C) Liber mortuorum, 1885–1917 (C)
Liber baptizatorum, 1927–1961 (C) Liber mortuorum, 1917–1935 (C)
Liber confirmatorum, 1919–1961 (C) Liber mortuorum, 1936–1961 (C)

Kaloyanovo (*until 1934 Seldzhikovo*). *Church "Sveti Andrey"* (*Saint Andrew*)
Liber baptizatorum (for Kaloyanovo, Miromir, Duvanli and Zhitnica), 1797–1824 (AP)

Liber baptizatorum, matrimoniarum, mortuorum, 1818–1838 (AP)
Liber baptizatorum, 1842–1897 (A)
Liber baptizatorum, mortuorum, matrimoniarum, 1897–1926 (C)
Liber baptizatorum, mortuorum, 1918–1926 (C)
Liber baptiztorum, 1927–1961 (C)
Liber matrimoniarum, 1840–1897 (C)
Liber matrimoniarum, 1927–1961 (C)
Liber matrimoniarum, confirmatorum, 1918–1961 (C)

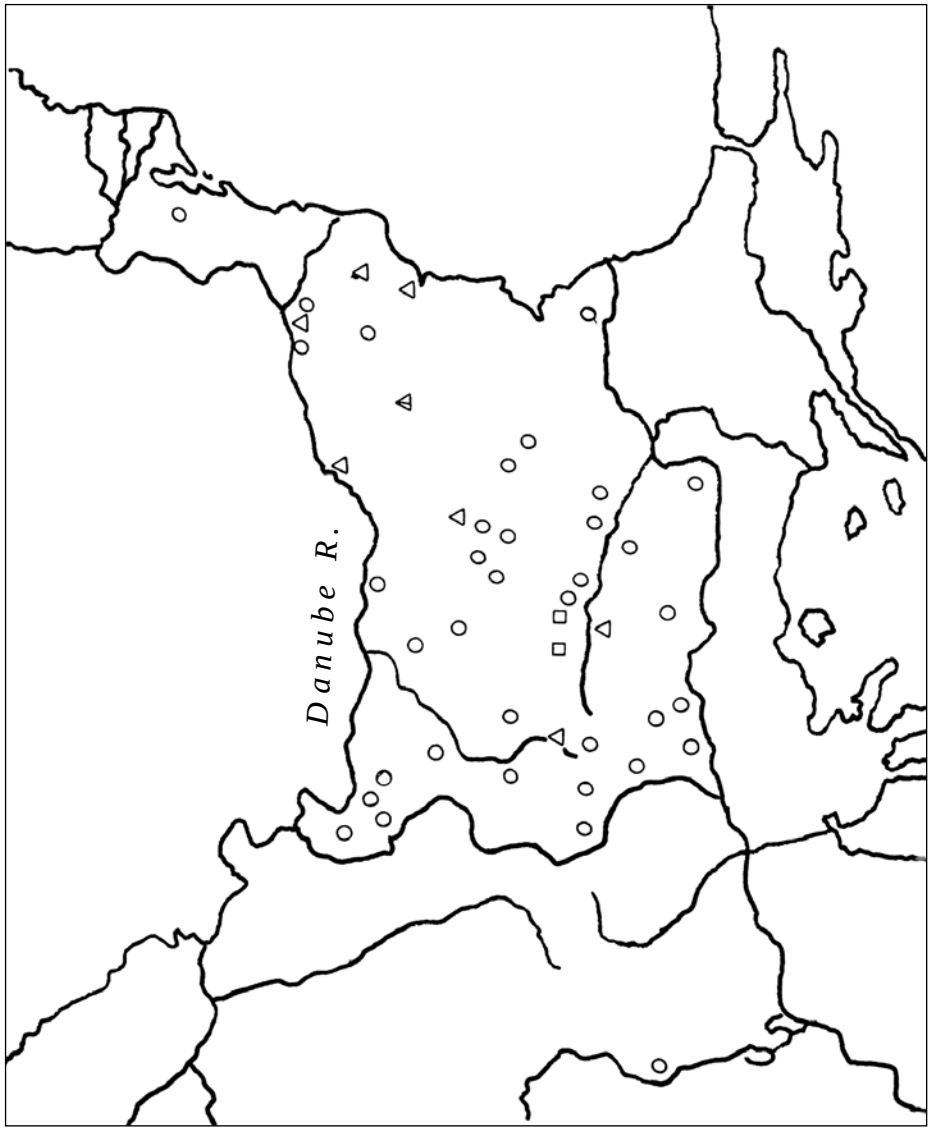
Liber mortuorum, confirmatorum, 1839–1897 (C)
Liber mortuorum, 1927–1961 (C)
Liber status animarum, 1836–1838 (AP)
Liber status animarum, 1926–1950 (C)

Duvanli (*Duvandzhi*). *Church "Sedemte rani na blazhena deva Mariya – Sveta Bogorodica"* (*The Seven Wounds of the Blessed Virgin Mary – the Holy Virgin*)

Liber baptizatorum, 1848–1897 (A) Liber matrimoniarum, 1848–1897 (A)
Liber baptizatorum, 1898–1916 (C) Liber matrimoniarum, 1898–1919 (C)
Liber baptizatorum, 1918–1927 (C) Liber matrimoniarum, 1920–1928 (C)
Liber baptizatorum, 1927–1961 (C) Liber matrimoniarum, 1928–1961 (C)
Liber confirmatorum, 1868–1904 (A) Liber mortuorum, 1848–1897 (A)
Liber confirmatorum, 1906–1961 (C) Liber mortuorum, 1898–1918 (C)
Liber mortuorum, 1919–1927 (C)
Liber mortuorum, 1927–1961 (C)

Plovdiv. Cathedral church "Sveti Lyudvig" (*St. Ludvig*)

Liber baptizatorum, 1870–1890 (A) Liber matrimoniarum, 1876–1927 (C)
Liber baptizatorum, 1900–1917 (C) Liber matrimoniarum, 1927– (C)
Liber baptizatorum, 1918–1921 (C) Liber mortuorum, 1874–1890 (A)
Liber baptizatorum, 1921–1924 (C) Liber mortuorum, 1893–1897 (A)
Liber baptizatorum, 1924–1926 (C) Liber mortuorum, 1898–1917 (C)
Liber baptizatorum, 1927–1947 (C) Liber mortuorum, 1918–1923 (C)
Liber confirmatorum, 1897–1961 (C) Liber mortuorum, 1924–1929 (C)
Liber mortuorum, 1930–1961 (C)



3. The Geography of the Sources

□ Catholic parish registers

△ Ottoman registers

○ Ethnological material

APPENDIX II
THE *LIBER STATUS ANIMARUM* OF SELDZHIKOVO

Documentation of the *libri status animarum* type, literally "soul descriptions," is widely recognized and used as an important source of information on the history of the population, particularly on household structure. Used in conjunction with the other types of parish registers, they could help overcome some limitations, which have caused Flandrin to criticize heavily, but also too categorically the one-sided approach of the family reconstitution method:

> The "families" reconstructed by the French demographers on the basis of the registers of baptisms, marriages and burials are nothing more than a demonstration of the fertility of couples; they tell us nothing at all about the dimensions of the domestic group. The "families" which British historians discover in censuses of households are merely, as it were, a snapshot of the occupants of accomodation in a given locality at a given moment (Flandrin 1979, 3).

The Council of Trent was the major factor in the growth of what became the universal practice to keep parish registers (Mols 1954–1956, vol.1, 75–78). In its 24th session in 1563, the Council ordered the registration of marriages and births in special registers (*Libri matrimoniarum, Libri baptizatorum*) (Le Mée 1975, 442). The *Rituale Romanum*, promulgated under Pope Paul V in 1614, required the keeping of three more registers—on deaths (*Liber mortuorum* or *Liber defunctorum*), on confirmations (*Liber confirmatorum),* and a general book about the state of the population (*Liber status animarum*) (Le Mée 1975, 445–448).

According to the *Rituale Romanum*, the *Liber status animarum* was to be kept in the following manner:

> Familia quaequae distincte in libro notetur, intervallo relicto ab unaquaque ad alteram subsequentum, in quo singillatim scribantur nomen, cognomen, aetas singulorum, qui ex familia sunt, vel tanquam advenae in ea vivunt (Mols 1954–1956, vol.3, 37).

Two regions in Bulgaria were inhabited by Catholics: ten or more villages in Northern Bulgaria, around the towns of Svishtov and Nikopol, and an approximately equal number of villages in Southern Bulgaria, around the town of Plovdiv. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bulgarian Catholics numbered about 15 000. These Catholic settlements were formed as a result of the missionary propaganda of the Roman Catholic church among the Bulgarian Paulicians (Miletich 1903; Frazee 1983).

Until the middle of the sixteenth century the influence of Catholicism was sporadic, superficial, and weak. After that, the activities of the *Propaganda fidei* in Northern Bulgaria gained strength. At the end of the sixteenth century, Pope Clement VIII founded the Catholic bishopric of Sofia. The Catholic proselytization in Southern Bulgaria started later and increased only towards the middle of the seventeenth century. Different religious orders—Franciscans, Dominicans, Capuchins, Passionists, Liguorists (Redemptorists), and others—were engaged in this work. They made great efforts to introduce the canons of the Catholic church and to eradicate the adherence to traditional rites and practices.

In addition, the Bulgarian Catholic Archbishopric, as part of the Roman Catholic church, was required to systematically keep parish books. The particularly hard conditions which the Catholic propaganda had to face until the beginning of the nineteenth century explains the practical absence of this type of documentation. The oldest known parish register, a *Liber confirmatorum* covering the period 1703 to 1767, is merely mentioned by Miletich (1903, 150), who reports that he had seen it in the church of Seldzhikovo. It seems that during the nineteenth century parish books had been kept regularly, according to the information provided by Lyubomir Miletich, the well-known scholar of the history of the Bulgarian Paulicians, who had seen many of the books in the early 1900s. Miletich mentions a *Liber status animarum* for the village of Oresha for the period 1854–1860; a *Liber baptizatorum* from 1808 and 1824–1827; a *Registro de battesimi* for Seldzhikovo 1703–1767; a *Liber baptizatorum* for Kalachli and Baltadzhi from 1703, and others (Miletich 1903, 115, 134, 150, 152). Unfortunately, none of them has been retrieved yet.

As already mentioned in this text, the *Liber status animarum* of the village of Seldzhikovo for 1836–1838 is the first, and, to the best of our knowledge, the only one to have been discovered for the Bulgarian Catholics. In general, the *Libri status animarum* were rarely kept, if kept at all. This was confirmed by a conversation which the author had in 1989 with the present metropolitan of the Catholic community in Plovdiv. He himself was not aware of the existence of *Libri status animarum*. Moreover, according to him, they were usually not kept, as is the practice even today. On the other hand, it is curious to note that the only other *Liber status animarum*, apart from the one published here, was kept

for the parish of the same village of Seldzhikovo (after 1934 Kaloyanovo) between 1926 and 1950. It is preserved in the "Saint Andrew" church of the same village. This particular register was found in the manuscript collection of the "City and district archives of Plovdiv" (GODA-Plovdiv: Fond 398 k, op.1, a.e.12). It is part of a bound book, comprising the *Liber baptizatorum*, the *Libro delli matrimoni*, the *Libro dei morti*, and the *Liber confirmatorum* for the village of Seldzhikovo, all covering the period 1818–1838. The *Liber status animarum* was recorded in 1836–1837, at the time of a severe plague epidemic. In 1838 the information on the dead, alongside with other changes in the family composition, was entered.

In the table which follows (Table A2.1), the contemporary orthography has been preserved, as well as the different rendering of words and names. Thus, one will encounter *uxor* and *uxur*, *Ivan* and *Jvan*, and so on. The only "normalization" which has been introduced, is the capitalization of names. The enumeration follows the original at the time the register was compiled. The little crosses in front of the names indicate the ones who had died in the course of the year. The names without numbers are newly born, first or second wives entering the household or, occasionally, other additions. In one case there is a whole new household (after No. 217 for the men and No. 199 for the women), and in another, a household has left the village (No.51–56 men, No.49–53 women). It has been crossed out from the register. In several cases Bulgarian words written in Latin script are added. These have been explained in endnotes.

Table A2.1 Liber status animarum selgicoensium, 1836–1837, 1838

Descripti a me Georgio Caraje, Parrucho Illorum presenti tempore.

Mascoli	*Feminae*
1. Tanas Dosckov 2. Petar } filii 3. Ivan } ejus.	1. Cattarina ejus uxur. 2. Rada } filiae 3. Maria } 4. Bona Petri uxur 5. Rada ejus filia
4. Stojan Dosckov 5. Tanas } ejus 6. Petar } filii 7. Stojan } Tanasi 8. Petar } 9. Ivan } filii 10. +Tanas } Petri filius Paole }	6. Jona uxur Stojani 7. Vitta ejus filia 8. Jona uxur Tanasi 9. Jona uxor Petri 10. Cattarina eor. filia Birgitta filia Petri

Mascoli	*Feminae*
11. Petar Rajov	11. Jona uxor Petri
12. Petar filius	12. Neza + } eor.
13. Tanas gener	13. Vitta }
14. Petar} Tanasi	14. Mina conjugata} filiae
15. Paole} filii	15. Margona uxor Petri filii
16. +Tanas Bancov.	16. +Kiera uxor Tanasi
17. +Tanas filius.	17. +Kiera uxur Tanasi filii umrala[1]
18. Alexa. } Tanasi	18. +Maria Tanasi filia cum matr.
19. +Mitto }	
20. Gherghe } filii	
Maria sestra[2]	
21. Petar Dimcov	19. Maria mater Petri
22. Paole }	20. Maria uxur Petri
23. Alexa } filii	21. Maria filia Petri
24. Tanas }	
25. Gheto Birijat	22. Cattarina uxor Gheti
26. Petar}	23. Mina }
27. Ivan } filii	24. Jona } filiae
Paole }	25. Margona }
28. +Jzef Delivanski	26. +Jona uxor Izefi
29. Jvan }	27. Stana filia
30. Gheto } filii	28. Ghena uxor Ivani
31. Grigor }	29. Verona uxor Gheti
32. Gherghe } Joani	30. Neda filia Ivani
33. Paole } filii	31. Maria filia Ivani
34. Izef filius Gheti	
35. Mitto Totovski	31. baba Saba mater Mitti[3]
36. Petar filius	32. Maria uxor Mitti
37. Alexa }	33. Neda uxor Petri
38. Mitto } Petri filii	34. Maria }
39. Tanas }	35. +Cattarina } filiae
	Petri Paole
40. Ilija famulus	Cattarina gemelli
41. Tanas Tanciur famu.	baba[4] Tanciurka
	Pena
42. Petar Tanciov	36. +Cattarina uxor Petri
43. Ivan }	37. Bena }
44. Tanas } filii Petri	38. Mina } Petri filiae
45. Paole }	39. Vitta }
46. Petar filius Ivani	40. +Anna }
	41. Neda uxor Ivani

Mascoli	*Feminae*
47. Joto Tanciov	42. baba Maria mater Joti
48. Petio }	43. Cuna uxor Joti
49. Tanas } filii	44. Jrina }
	45. Mina } Joti filiae
	46. Margona }
49. Pancio Peciov	47. Neda uxor Pancii
50. +Tanas filius	48. Cattarina filia eor.
51. Matio Manavski	49. Maria uxor Matii
52. Kolio }	50. Jona uxor Kolii
53. Tanas } filii	51. Nenka uxor Tanasi
54. Andrea }	52. Mina } Kolii filiae
55. +Ivan } orfani	53. Mona }
56. Nicola }	
57. +Tanas Stoiciov	54. Maria uxor Tanasi
58. Petar} filii ejus	55. Dobra uxor Petri
59. Jvan }	56. Mina uxor Jvani
60. Tanas }	57. Cattarina }
61. Stojan } filii Petri	58. Pena }
62. Gherghe }	59. Maria } Jvani filiae
	60. Ghena }
	Lizabeta } Ivani filia
	Luzza filia Petri
63. Jzef Stoiciov	61. Guda uxor Jzefi
64. Stojan }	62. Vitta uxor Stojani
65. Francesco } filii	63. Cattarina uxor Francesci
66. Petar }	64. Maria }
	65. Aguscia } filiae Stojani
	Cattarina }
67. Tanas Cantaret	66. Maria uxor Tanasi
68. Petar }	67. +Pena filia Tanasi
69. Paole }	68. Stana uxor Petri
70. Gherghe } filii Tanasi	69. Josephina filia Petri
71. Ivan }	
72. Mitto }	
73. Tanas filius Petri	
	Baba Miciovica mater
74. +Gherghe Tatar	70. Maria uxor Gherghi
75. Marin }	71. +Stana
76. Tanas }	72. Teresa
77. Dimo } filii Gherghi	73. Jona

Mascoli	*Feminae*
78. Paole } 79. Stojan } Tanas filius Marini	74. Domenica 75. Jona uxor Marini 76. Aguscia filia Marini
80.+Mitto Xilcov 81. Paole } filii 82. Marin } 83. Petar Paoli filius Marin Paoli filius 84. Joto Sciscko 85. Petar Scisckov 86. Jzef } 87. Gherghe } filii Petri 88. Andrea } 89. Ivan filius Josephi	77. Pena uxor Mitti 78. Mina uxor Paoli 79. Mina uxor Marini Petio filius Marini Gioro filius Marini 80. Cuna uxor Petri 81. Pena } 82. Maria } filiae Petri 83. Aguscia } Vitta 84. +Mina uxor Jzefi 85. Rada filia Jzefi Sussana Cattarina
90. Petar Tunciovski 91. Paole } 92. Jzef } 93. Jvancio } Petri filii 94. Ghescko } 95. Tanas } 96. Nicola } Paoli filii 97. Gherghe } 98. Anton } Petio… } 99. Petio } Jzefifilii 100. Giorgio } 101. Tanco filius Jvanci 102. Petar } 103. +Jvancio } Ghesci filii 104. Kolio }	86. Rada uxor Petri 87. Luxa uxor Paoli 88. Dona uxor Jzefi 89. Dobra uxor Jvanci 90. Saba uxor Ghescki 91. Cuna uxor Tanasi 92. Maria } 93. Aguscia } filiae Jzafi 94. Cattarina } 95. Neza filia Paoli 96. Maria } filiae Jvancii 97. Anna } Josepha } Tanasi filiae Anna }
105. Andrea Radulski 106. Gherghe } 107. Alexa } Andr.filii 108. Mitto } 109. Tanas } 110. Andrea} Gher.filii 111. Kolio }	98. Rada uxor Andreae 99. Pena uxor Gherghi 100. +Vitta uxor Alexii 101. Dona uxor Mitti 102. Maria } 103. Cana } filiae Gherghi 104. Luza }

Mascoli	*Feminae*
112. Gherghe Mitto filius Alexa Miti filius	105.+Neda } filiae Alexii 106. Rada } Aguscia filia Gheti Cattarina babova sakata[5]
112. +Peko Radulski	107. +Luzza uxor Peki
113. Gheto filius	108. Mina uxor Gheti
114. Petio }	109. Luzza filia Gheti
115. Ivan } filii Gheti	Anna
116. Radul }	
117. Mitto Toskata	110. Maria Uxor Mitti
118. Paole } filii Mitti	111. Aguscia filia Mitti
119. Petar }	Mina uxur Paole
120. Petar Toskata	112. Maria uxor Petri
121. Mitto } filii Petri	113. Pena } filiae Petri
122. Andrea }	114. Stana }
123. +Necio Matanski	115.+Gana uxor Necii
124. Andrea filius	116. Cattarina uxor Andreae
125. +Jzef Andreae filius	117.+Aguscia filia Andreae
126. +Necio Bacargiski	118. Jona uxor Necii
127. +Jzef }	119. +Jona uxor Jzefi
128. Mitto } filii Necii	120. Cattarina uxor Mitti
129. Andrea }	121. +Aguscia filia Necii
130. +Petio } filii Jzefi	122. +Neda } filiae Jzefi
131. +Paole }	123. +Luzza }
Rada uxur Andreae	124. Anna } filiae Mitti
	125. Aguscia }
132. +Matio Bacargi	126. +Stana uxor Tanasi
133. +Tanas } filii	127. +Mina uxor Mitti
134. Mitto }	128. Vitta uxor Tanasi
135. Tanas }	129. Pena filia Tanasi
136. +Gherghe } filii Mitti	Cattarina filia Mitti
137. +Marin }	Anna uxor Mitti
138. +Jzef } filii Tanasi	baba Luzza
139. Mitto }	
Ivan filius Mitti	
140. +Jzef Kicinkat	130. Anna uxor Jzefi
141. Mitto } filii Jzefi	131. Sussanna uxor Mitti
142. Alexa }	132. Neda uxor Alexii
143. Jzef filius Mitti	133. Anna } filiae Mitti
Tanas filius Mitti	134. Susanna }

Mascoli	*Feminae*
144.+Matio Sciataret	135. Bena uxor Tanasi
145. Tanas filius Mati	136.+Sussanna uxor Paole
146. Paole+ }	137. Anna+ }
147. Petar } Tanasi filii	138. Neda } Tanasi
148. Ivan }	139. Cana } filiae
149. Andrea }	140. Mina }
Alexa filius Tanasi	141. +Anna Maria fil.Paole
	Maria
150. +dedo Tanas Sciatar	142. +Cattarina uxor Ivanci
151. Jvancio filius ejus	143. +Teresa }
152. Ivan }	144. Luzza } filiae Ivancii
153. +Mitto } filii Ivancii	145. Maria }
154. +Lucca }	146. Rada }
Lucca }	Pena dovedina
Stefan dovedin[6]	
155. Mitto Bosckov	147. Ghena uxor Mitti
156. Ivancio } filii	148. Ghena uxor Ivancii
157. Tanas } Mitti	149. +Rada } filiae Mitti
Tanas filius Ivancii	150. +Dobra }
Rada filia adoptiva	Luzza uxor Tanasi
158. +Jorgo Sciatarski	151. +Susanna uxor Jorgo
159. Petar }	152. +Neza filia eorum
160. Tanas } Jorghi filii	Ghena uxor Petri
161. +Kolio } umre[7]	+Neza filia Petri
162. +Jzef Pehlivanski }	153. baba Ilenka
163. +Gherghe } fratres	154. +Mina uxor Jzefi
164. Lucca }	155. +Vitta uxor G herghi
165. +Izef } filii	156. +Ghena uxor Lucci
166. +Petar } Jzefi	157. +Mandalina } filiae Gherghi
167. Marco } filius Lucci	158. +Pena }
Izef }	159. Cattarina filia Luki
Joto slurlasat (?)	Cattarina uxor Luki
168. +Necio Dodov	160. Stana uxor Necii
169. Tanas }	161. Rada }
170. Bratan } filii Necii	162. Pena } filiae Necii
171. +Izef }	163. Jona }
172. Paole }	164. Mina uxor Tanasi
Ivan filius Tanasi	Domenica filia Stani

Mascoli	*Feminae*
173. Jzef Dodov 174. Mitto 175. Kolio 176. Ivan	165. Bena uxor Mitti Maria filia Benae
177. Gherghe Calciov	166. Stana uxor ejus
178. Stojan Kioseto 179. Laurenko } 180. Andrea } filii Stojani 181. Gioro } 182. Paole } 183. +Innocenzo } Petar filius Stojani	167. Cattarina uxor Stojani 168. Neda uxor Laurenki 169. Teresa filia Stojani 170. baba Ribcioviza 171. +Pena kiorava[8]
184. Paole Paolov } 185. Grigor }fratres 186. Stojan } 187. Bratan filius Paoli 188. Ghescko filius Grigor 189. Petrus ejusdem Jako filius Grigor 190. Kolio Scodrata 191. Pancio } 192. Tanas } Kolii 193. Petar } filii 194. Stojan } 195. Ghescko } 196. Ivan }	172. baba Neda 173. Rada uxor Paoli 174. Kiera uxor Grigori 175. Ghena filia Paoli 176. Neda filia Grigori Vitta filia Paoli Anna uxor Stojani 177. Vitta uxor Kolii 178. +Anna filia Kolii 179. Mina uxor Pancii 180. Kiera } 181. Vitta } filiae Pancii Anna } Stana filia Kolii
197. Stojan Taciov 198. Tanas } 199. Ivan } Stojani 200. +Gherghe } filii 201. Kolio } 202. Paole } 203. +Ivan filius Tanasi 204. Gherghe filius Ivani Stojan filius Ivani Jzef filius Tanasi	182. +Luzza uxor Stojani 183. Irina uxor Tanasi 184. Cana uxor Ivani 185. Pena } filiae gemm.Stojani 186. Cania} 187. Jona } filiae Tanasi 188. Cecilia }
205. Pencio Gherov 206. Ghescko filius	189. Vitta uxor Pencii 190. Cania } filiae Pencii 191. Mina }

Mascoli	*Feminae*
207. +Jvan Garcat	192. +Maria uxor Jvani
208. +Tanas } filii ejus	193. Luzza uxor Tanasi
209. Petar }	+Chiera
210. +Petar }	194. +Maria uxor Petri
211. Ghescko } Tanasi	195. +Jona uxor Petri
212. +Boghdan } filii	196. +Mina } Tanasi
213. +Ivancio }	197. Vitta } filiae
214. Panio }	198. +Aguscia }
215. Tanas } filii	199. +Anna filia Petri
216. +Luigi } Petri	+Mina filia Petri
217. Jzef }	Kiera uxor Gherghi
Gheno Kalciov zet	
Jona uxor	
Cana	
Vita	
Stana dedo[9] Matea	
218. Anton Cupez	200. Maruscia uxor Antoni
	201. Cattarina filia Antoni
	Pena filia Antoni
219. Andrea Covac	202. Luzza uxor ejus
	Maria filia Andreae
220. Joto Banciov zet[10]	203. Mina uxor ejus
221. Raffael ejus filius	204.[11]
in tutto fanno masch. 221	post pestem remante
feminae 204	376[12]
425[13]	

Notes

1 umrala (Bulg.): dead.
2 sestra (Bulg.): sister.
3 the number 31 is entered twice.
4 baba (Bulg.): grandmother or any old woman.
5 sakata (Bulg.): invalid.
6 dovedin, dovedina (Bulg.) =doveden [sin], dovedena [dîshterya]: stepson, stepdaughter.
7 umre (Bulg.): died.
8 kiorava (Bulg.): blind.

9 dedo (Bulg.): grandfather or any old man.
10 zet (Bulg.): son-in-law.
11 No name is entered under No. 204 but taking into account that No. 31 was repeated, 204 is the correct number of women registered in 1836–37.
12 In fact there have been 91 dead among the registered in 1836–37 (the ones which have a number); another 10 have left the village (household No. 12 which numbered 10 people after the loss of one of the orphans). This accounts for a loss a 101 from the initial list. On the other hand, there have been 38 newborn children in 1838; another 26 are new arrivals in the respective households: second wives, some elderly relatives and non-relatives, stepchildren and adopted children, etc. Undoubtedly, not all of the new arrivals, especially in the case of second wives, are from different villages; some have shifted between households. This however is impossible to ascertain, as women are described only in reference to their husband (or father, if they are still unmarried). There are three reported deaths among the newborn or the new arrivals.
13 In fact, the total number is 491 (244 males and 247 females), taking into account the entries without enumeration or under a wrong enumeration.

APPENDIX III
IDEOGRAPHS OF THE *LIBER STATUS ANIMARUM* OF SELDZHIKOVO

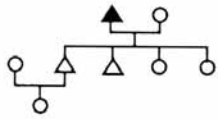
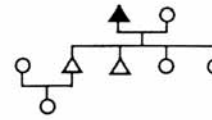
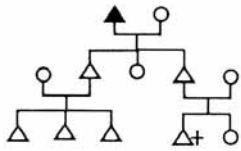
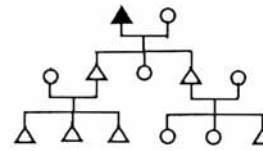
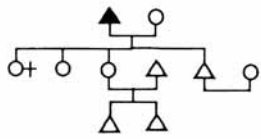
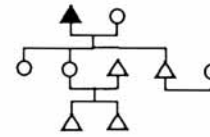
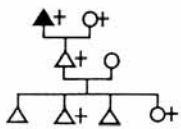
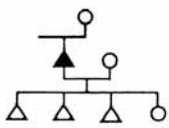
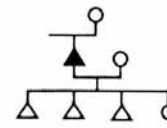
The accompanying ideographs are graphic representations of the households of the village of Seldzhikovo. They are presented in two columns: the first giving the household structure in 1836 and 1837, i.e., before the outbreak of the plague, the second picturing the results of the epidemic as well as the newly born or newly arrived in 1838 in each particular household. There are altogether 45 ideographs. However, one household (No. 12: crossed out in the original) apparently left the village, and another (No. 42) moved in after the plague, in 1838.

In most cases the relationship is specified and the links in the ideographs or special designations (such as fosterlings and twins in household No. 8, orphans in household No. 12, an adopted daughter in household No. 30) reflect this. In several cases it is obvious that there is a kin relationship but it is not specified to whom and, thus, it could not be taken account of in the ideographs:

Household No. 4: After the plague only two minor sons have survived. The woman who has stepped into the household is designated as sister but it is not known whose sister she is (of any one of the parents or grandparents). Thus "aunt" has been added by me in square brackets.
Household No. 8: The newly arrived female co-resident described as "baba Tanciurka" is obviously related to one of the fosterchildren (Tanas Tanciur).
Household No. 16: After the death of the head of the household an old woman designed as "mother" comes to co-reside with the widow. In the ideograph we have assumed as more plausible that she was the mother of the widow but in fact this is not specified; she could have been also the mother of the dead husband.
Household No. 20: The new inmate in this case is an invalid without a specified kin relationship.
Household No. 26: Here the new co-residing female is described as "baba" which could designate a relationship, but could also be used for any elderly woman.
Household No. 32: The same applies for the female under No. 153; in this case, however, it is almost sure that she is a grandmother as she is listed first among the women. There is no defined relationship in the case of the male.

Household No. 36: The two co-residing women are designed as "baba" and as "blind," respectively. There is no defined relationship.
Household No. 37: Another case of "baba," this time most probably a grandmother, as in household 32.
Household No. 42: One of the males is "dedo" (grandfather). It is assumed that he was the wife's father, as the husband (the head of the household) has been specified as "son-in-law."

Ideographs of the *Liber Status Animarum*

	1876–1837	1838
1		
2		
3		
4		○ (aunt) 
5		

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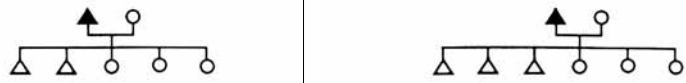

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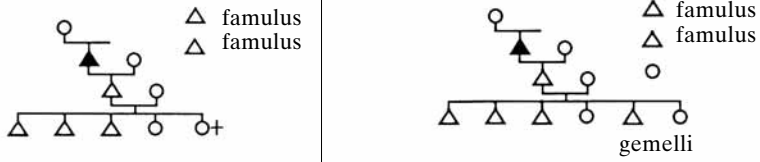

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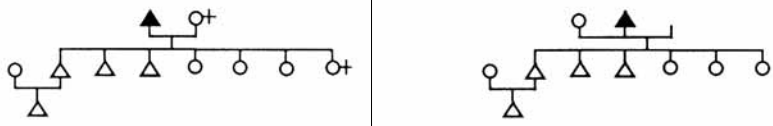

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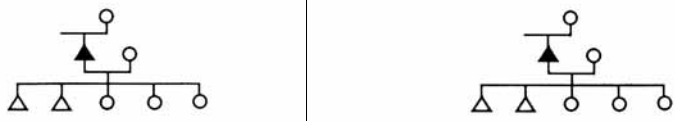

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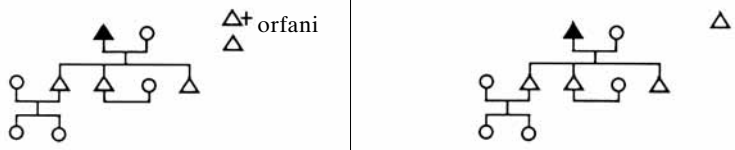
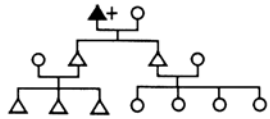
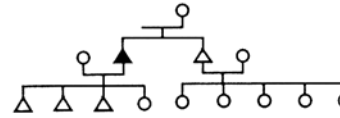
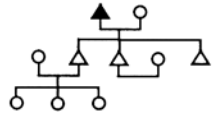
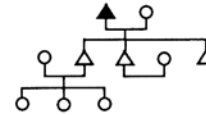
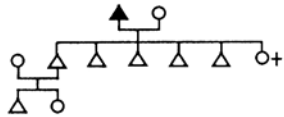
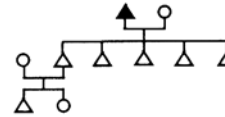
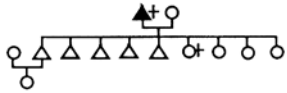
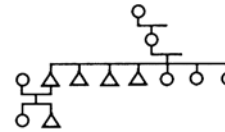
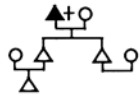
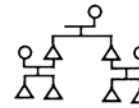
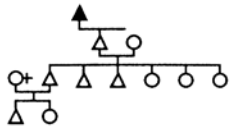
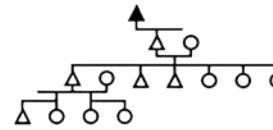


13		
14		
15		
16		
17		
18		

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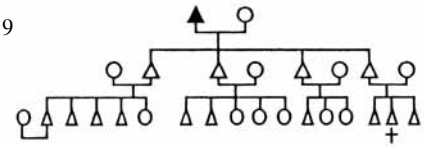

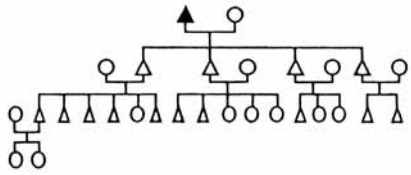

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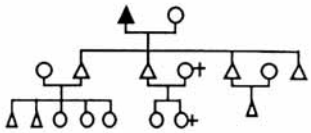

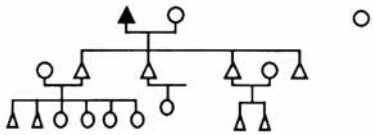

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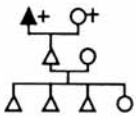

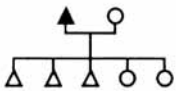

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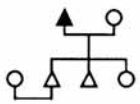

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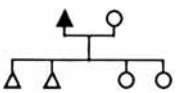

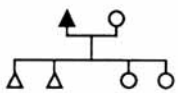

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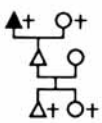

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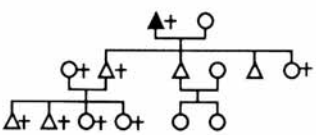

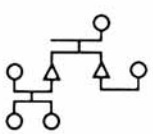

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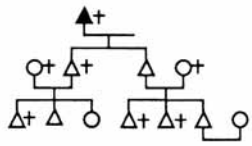

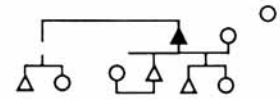

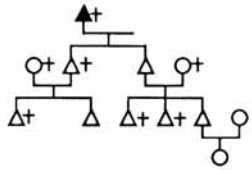

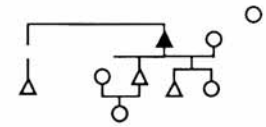

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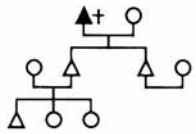

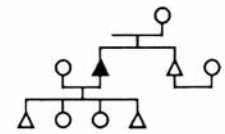

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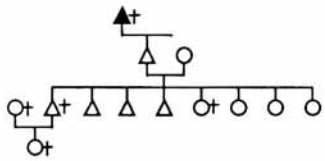

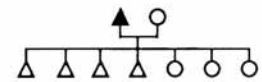

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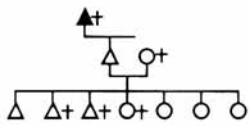

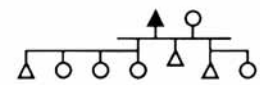

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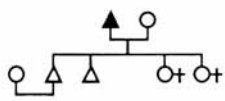

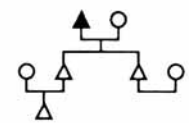

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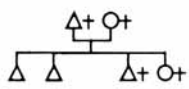

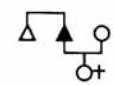

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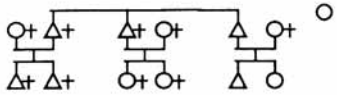

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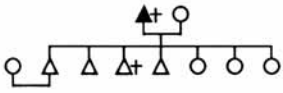

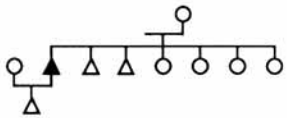

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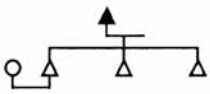

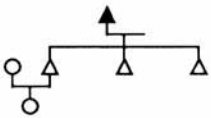

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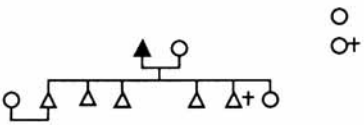

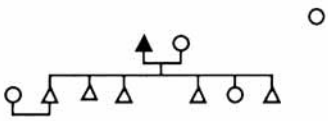

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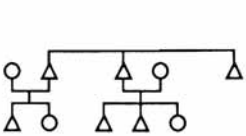

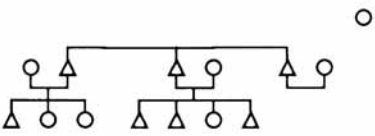

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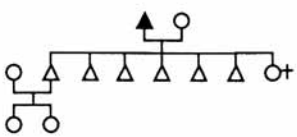

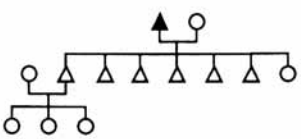

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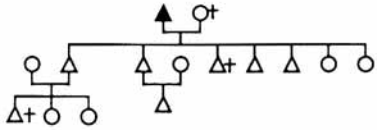

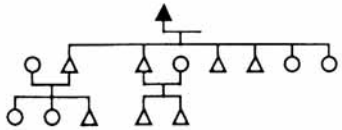

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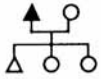

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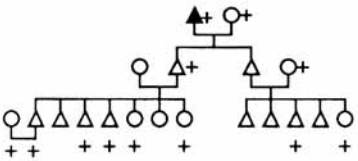

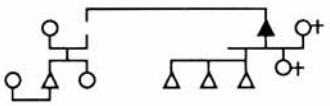

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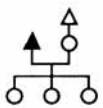

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APPENDIX IV
NOTE ON THE PLAGUE

The passage following this introduction is a note that describes the plague epidemic that struck the region of Plovdiv in 1837. Although there were registered plague cases in 1836, the village of Seldzhikovo felt the ravages of the plague from the spring of 1837 on, and especially during the fall and the winter, until the beginning of 1838. In fact, among the 91[1] human losses, registered in the *Liber status animarum* for the Catholic population of the village, most were obviously casualties of the plague (according to the note 70 cases from September 1837 to January 1838).

The *Libro dei mort* , in which a scrupulous account of the dead was kept from 22 January 1837 to 12 February 1838, shows 69 cases. Most of them apparently died of the plague although this is specified only in 9 cases ("mori a peste"). The other victims of the plague were 34 Orthodox, and more than 50 Muslim Gypsies. The Orthodox are referred to as "schismatics," and the Muslim faith of the Gypsies is indicated by saying they are Turks. The "apostates" mentioned in the document were most likely former Catholics (most likely women) who had married in Orthodox families and had changed their denomination.

Written in Italian, the note was attached to the four parish registers of Seldzhikovo for the years 1818–1838. It is undated and unsigned but clearly written in the handwriting of the local priest Giorgio Caraga who had been keeping the parish books for the last several years (GODA-Plovdiv: Fond # 398 k, op.1, a.e.2).

Memoria

Nel 1836. hà incominciato sentivsi la pesta in Filippupoli ma tropo raro, ma entrando nell' autonno sempra crescova e cosi per tutto l'inverno del infra l'anno 1836. e 1837. ma pero entrando nella primavera dell 1837. hà incominciato più fortemente e di giorno in giorno aumentandosi con i morti che caskavano, quelli della città sono usciti per le ville por salvarsi, e cosi nell'estata per le ville niente si sensitiva ma in città faceva ogni momento grandissima strage, e poi passata un poco l'estata hà incominciato perla campagna ed hà fatto una strage

crudedissima. Solamente in Selgicovo sono morti dei Cristiani 70 anima, incominciata dei 12.settembre e per il giorno sono morti per fino a 5. e non più, e cosi dopo hà incominciato a mitigarsi a poco a poco ed hà durato fino alli 8.di gennaro del 1838. ed in questa circonstanza tutto il Villagio con tutti le famiglie era disperso per la campagna sotto i tugurij, solamente 10 era rimasto nella villa con gli apostati per ajutarli e per assistargli, a cosi grazia a Dio nassuno è morto senza l'assistanza dovuta, e poi entrando l'Iverno tutta la villa di nuoo si empita con le famiglie; dei Scismatici sono morti 34. e dei Citani, cioe Turcki sono morti 50. e più.

Translation

Recollection

In 1836 the plague began to be felt in Filippopolis, but it was rare; however, with the coming of the autumn, it gained strength and was raging throughout all the winter of 1836–1837. But the worst came in the spring of 1837 when day after day it was hitting stronger and stronger, and the dead were dropping all of a sudden. People had fled from the cities to the villages to save themselves, and so during the summer nothing could be felt in the villages, but in the city there was incessant pestilence, and with the advance of the summer, it began raging in the villages and they were overtaken by the fiercest pestilence. In Seldzhikovo alone 70 among the Christians died; it started on 12 September and there were five, if not more, casualties daily, but then it started to gradually fade, and continued like that until 8 January 1838. In these circumstances, the whole village with all the families were scattered in huts in the fields, and only about ten people remained in the village together with the apostates who helped and supported them, so that, with God's mercy nobody died without receiving the help which is due to him. And with the coming of winter, the village was again filled with families. From among the schismatics 34 died; and from among the Gypsies, who are Turks, 50 or more died.

Notes

1 There are, actually, 94 death cases, but three are for 1838, when the second, post-plague list was compiled, which leaves us with a death toll of 91 during the epidemic.

APPENDIX V
A MARRIAGE CONTRACT

The unique document which follows, was recently purchased as part of a whole set of documents from the Catholic village of Baltadzhi (later Sekirovo, today the townsquarter Sekirovo of the town Rakovski). It is part of the collection of *Glavno upravlenie na arkhivite* (Chief management of the archives), and is kept in the directorate *Istorichesko nasledstvo* (Historical heritage). It is written in black ink on thin faded paper. The text is in colloquial Bulgarian but using the Latin script. The date has been torn out but can be deduced from the information drawn from the parish books.

The widow Ursula (Orsola) Spasova Boinusliski had married Marko Spasov Markov Teodorin at the age of sixteen on January 16, 1883. Their son Paulus, born in the same year, received his confirmation on October 10, 1990. After the death of her husband (the time of his death could not be specified as at the time of the author's visit to the village church, where the death and the birth registers for this period are supposed to be kept, the priest could not find them), Ursula was left with three children: Paulus and two girls.

Jacob (in the contract Jako) Radov Plackov had been married for the first time on January 10, 1882 to Anna Maria Andreva Ghijova. She apparently died (very probably in childbirth), and Jako remarried Petronilla Ivanova Brahova on December 25, 1883. The author has not been able to ascertain the time of Jacob's second wife's death, nor how many children he was left with, but he entered his third marriage with Ursula most probably in the late 1880s or early 1890s.

Below is the rendering of the original document, together with an English translation.

Spogodeni

Pisova se taja kniga da se znai kak katu umre Marko Spasov Teodorin i ostavi bulkata sas tri detza edno masko i dve xanski sas maika ta da se gledat tezi detza sas babata bulkata Orsola Boinusliska se preuxeni sas Jaka Radov Plackov sas tezi uslovie

1o da idi da sedi u kascta na Marka.
2o da gleda Markovi detza sas babaim kaktu svoje.
3o da raboti svojata stoka sas tehnata ta da ghi hrani i da ghi uredi kakto se pada spored halat.

Stoka na tezi detza sastoij na sledojuste imustestvo

1o Nivi 6 (sces) hurata.
2o dve lehe groxde. od tezi 6.hurata edin hurat go zemi babata za svojatasi dusca, za duscata na deda i na Marka. na detzata ostanat pet hurata.
3o edna kascta sas plevnia i hambar i pokascina.
4o dve krave i edno tele. teleto se pade na babata, ama ta go ostavi na momceto ta da ja gleda.

Borc deto se pade na detzata:

1o	Na Makedonizat	gr.170
2o	Na Joza Ghenov Ciorbagispas od xito ostaie	gr. 50
3o	Za kiria na bahcia ostaje da se dava	gr.320
4o	Na Joza Koiruski za igiuret 25.levi	gr.150
5o	Na Rada Zamiarska 4.kila pc. za xeleno	
6o	Na Jaka Boinusliski 8.kila rasc zajeti	
	Tozi borc xa se plati sa stokata od detzata Baltagia	2.M..t

* * *

Translation

Betrothed

This document has been written so as to state how at the death of Marko Spasov Teodorin he left his bride with three children: one male and two female, and [his] mother. In order to take care of the children and the grandmother, the bride Orsola Boinusliska remarried Jako Radov Plackov on the following conditions:

1 to go and live in the house of Marko. 2o to take care of Marko's children and their grandmother as if they were his own. 3o to work on his own property as well as on theirs so as to feed them, and to provide for them according to what befalls them.

The property of these children consists of the following:

1 fields of 6 (six) uvrat[1].
2 two flowerbeds of grapes. Of the six uvrat, one uvrat has been kept by the grandmother for her own soul, for the soul of the grandfather, and for that of Marko. The remaining five uvrat are for the children.
2 one house with a heyloft, a barn, and household goods.
4 two cows and one calf; the calf falls to the grandmother but she has left it to the boy so that he would look after her.

Debt which falls on the children:

1	To the Macedonian	gr.170[2]
2	To Jozo Ghenov Ciorbagispas remain from the wheat	gr. 50
2	For renting a garden remains to be given	gr.320
4	Pay to Jozo Koiruski 25 levs	gr.150
5	To Rada Zamiarska 4.kilograms of wheat[3]	
6	To Jako Boinusliski 8.kilograms of borrowed rye	

This debt is to be paid from the property of the children.
Baltagia 2.M..t [here the document is torn]

Notes

1 vrat – about 2 decares, or approximately half an acre.
2 gurush or kurusk: the basic Ottoman monetary unit during the nineteenth century, by the middle of the century 110 gurush equalled 1 pound sterling.
3 In the Bulgarian text a specification is added, “na zeleno,” literally meaning “while green.” This indicates that the wheat has been borrowed the previous year on the condition that it be replaced or repaid when the new harvest turns in.

APPENDIX VI
ON THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL VALUE OF FAMILY MODELS: THE BALKANS WITHIN THE EUROPEAN PATTERN[1]

The attempt to create a model of the historic European family was a response to the complexity and richness of material, which was difficult to frame in a single grand theory of the family. Already during the nineteenth century, following the practice in the natural sciences, efforts were made to classify existing knowledge about the family and create models based on typological differences. One of the first taxonomical approaches to family history was that of Le Play, a *par excellence* moralistic taxonomist (*Recueil* 1956; Brooke 1970). According to Le Play, there were three types of families: the patriarchal, the stem and the unstable. The first was common among Eastern nomads, Russian peasants and the Slavs of Central Europe. The unstable family was supposed to prevail among the working-class populations subject to the new manufacturing system of Western Europe. The stem-family, typical of the French countryside, of Germany, and of Western Europe in general, was a social organization in which only one married child remained with the parents, whereas the rest received a dowry. Le Play postulated a direct relationship between the type of family and social stability, and openly championed the stem family as successfully reconciling tradition and innovation (Le Play 1982). While refuted or surpassed in the particulars,[2] Le Play's approach has influenced generations of sociologists and family historians, and many of his ideas show up in unexpected quarters.

In the past decades a model was proposed by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, which described a fourfold tendency in household composition. This model came to substitute (or rather elaborate) the previously accepted one of two regions with the symbolic demarcation line running roughly from St. Petersburg to Trieste (Laslett, Wall 1972; Wall, Robin and Laslett 1983). The zone to the north and west of this boundary had been depicted as the region of a unique marriage pattern (defined by high marriage ages for both sexes and a high degree of celibacy) and *ergo,* a unique family, a unique household and all of the following unique consequences; the rest of

Europe (as well as the rest of the world) was characterized by a marriage pattern, typical for the low age at marriage of both partners and practically universal marriages.

John Hajnal, who made this statistical discovery based on turn-of-the-century data, named the first of these two configurations the "European pattern:"

> The marriage pattern of most of Europe as it existed for at least two centuries up to 1940 was, as far as we can tell, unique or almost unique in the world. There is no known example of a population of non-European civilization which has had a similar pattern. The distinctive marks of the 'European pattern' are (1) a high age at marriage and (2) a high proportion of people who never marry at all. The 'European' pattern pervaded the whole of Europe except for the eastern and south-eastern portion (Hajnal 1965, 101).

The other pattern began immediately to be described as "non-European" and subsequent discussions led to the extrapolation of the marriage pattern as a fundamental European characteristic.[3] There is absolutely no doubt that, as far as Hajnal is concerned, he was simply looking for a working label; he himself lamented in a footnote that

> it was most inconvenient not to have a term for the area where the European pattern obtained and I have felt free (when there is no possibility of misunderstanding) to use 'Europe' to denote this area. It is awkward to exclude Eastern Europe from Europe and it might be thought more accurate to use terms like 'Western Europe,' and 'Western European pattern.' However, since these concepts had to be referred to so frequently, brevity was a great advantage. Europe in our restricted sense is in fact the area dealt with in many a history of Europe" (Hajnal 1965, 101, note 2).

While brevity is an understandable motivation, the last sentence betrays an uncritical acceptance of the structure of "many a history of Europe." After all, most histories of "Europe" have been based on specific political, cultural or ideological commitments to the notion and have delineated it according to more encompassing or narrower criteria: the Europe of Christianity or, most often, of Western Christianity in its Catholic and Protestant variety; Europe of the Latin/Roman legacy; Europe of the predominantly Germanic and Latin peoples; Europe of the "Free World" west of the Leningrad-Trieste line, etc.

Hajnal himself neither expected nor foresaw that the results of his naming practices would have serious implications, otherwise he would have surely displayed the same circumspection he demonstrated in utilizing other categories.

A close reading of his text shows that he was inconsistent and casual about the name of the phenomenon: what he was interested in as a scholar was the phenomenon itself. Describing several of the Slav countries as displaying "quite a different marriage pattern from the European one," he suggested: "Let us call theirs the Eastern European one." So, in what seemed to be an innocent exercise in labeling, Eastern Europe appeared as an opposite not to Western Europe but to "Europe" as a whole. Again, it has to be stressed that Hajnal most certainly did not do this on purpose. On the other hand, there is little to indicate that he was otherwise careless of style. (In an aesthetic aside, he defended his comparison of Belgium and Sweden to Bulgaria and Serbia on the grounds that alliteration is as good a principle as any other) (Hajnal 1965, 102).

Further in his text, Hajnal completely dropped the notion "Eastern European pattern" and began referring only to the European and the non-European one. In order to illustrate "the marriage pattern [that] was non-European," he offered data from Bulgaria, Romania and Serbia (Hajnal 1965, 119). Likewise, throughout the text European and non-European were used both with and without inverted commas, not following any obvious rule. Hajnal attributed the European marriage pattern to what Le Play had called the stem family:

> A system of large estates with large households as in Eastern Europe might thus be conducive to a non-European marriage pattern, while small holdings occupied by a single family and passed on to a single heir would result in a European pattern. If this reasoning has substance, the uniqueness of the European marriage pattern must be ascribed to the European 'stem family' (Hajnal 1965, 133).

Again, it should be pointed out that Hajnal did not anticipate the political implications of his classification. Innocent within the context of his paper, especially after his explicit insistence that he was utilizing them "when there is no possibility of misunderstanding," the labels European and non-European in fact have a life of their own, and Hajnal is neither responsible for that, nor could he have any control over their extratextual implications. What this example, however, clearly illustrates is how much, in our choice of proper categories, we all are trapped within existing discourses, even if we do not wish to participate in them, and may sometimes even not be aware of them. As far as Hajnal was concerned, he had discovered an interesting trend, and was eager to follow it retrospectively in time and muse about its beginnings and its origins. The naming of the fact was for him a detail of secondary interest and significance. Commenting on a recent study of parish registers for three Hungarian villages in the eighteenth century, he concluded that "This population is not in 'Europe' as defined in this paper" (Hajnal 1965, 131). His nonchalance was obviously not shared by

his East European colleagues. In his opening speech to a recent conference on family history entitled "Where does Europe end?," the rector of the Budapest University of Economics, Rudolf Andorka, himself a renowned historical demographer, declared that the structure of families in the Middle Ages may be of some, though marginal, interest to some people, but whether Hungary belonged to Europe was of paramount importance.[4] It has become a pathetic compulsion for demographic historians of, or from, the regions on the margins of the "European marriage pattern" to demonstrate that their areas bear if not all, at least a majority of characteristics which allows them to be squeezed into the "European" rubric.

The more elaborate four-region hypothesis of household typology can be summarized briefly as follows: It subdivides the European region into a "west and north-west," a "west/central or middle," a "southern or Mediterranean" and an "eastern" zone. Geographically the zones have not been and cannot be meticulously defined. The material used to typify each region is fairly abundant and representative as far as the first two regions are concerned but only illustrative and questionably representative in the case of the southern and the eastern areas.

The fourfold model does not explicitly position the Balkans in any one of the four (or, as is to be expected, in one of the two latter) regions, since there had been comparatively little research on statistical lines. But whenever overall accounts or conclusions are presented, traditional stereotypes are attributed to the region. Almost every general overview of the European family depicts the Balkan area as having "a very persistent tendency towards household complexity… [where] the joint patrilineal household still holds pride of place" (Plakans 1986, 9), an area of "strong propensity for multiple households" (Burguière, Klapisch-Zuber, Segalen and Zonabend 1986, 38), the *par excellence* region of large families along with Russia and the Baltic region. As summarized by Mitterauer and Sieder, "the best known and most intensively investigated example of the large family is the so-called *zadruga* in the Balkans." Locating it in Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia and Bulgaria, the authors characterized it as "the dominant type of family in large areas" in historic times (Mitterauer and Sieder 1982, 29). Thus, the South Slav *zadruga* has been traditionally the focus of attention in studies of the Balkans, with all ensuing generalizing conclusions about the social, cultural and psychological proclivities of the region.

A few years ago, I published a study on the nineteenth century demography of Ottoman Bulgaria in which I questioned the received wisdom about the *zadruga* (Todorova, *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern*, 1993). Briefly, the argument can be summarized as follows. Despite categorical assertions that this was an institution, which has characterized the region from times immemorial (Filipović 1976, 268; Vucinich 1976, 162; Mosely 1976, 31), the term was

unknown until the nineteenth century, and what was retrospectively termed *zadruga* was the interpretation of certain evidence as proof for the existence of complex families. The historically known institution of the nineteenth century, on the other hand, showed an uneven geographical distribution. There was a prevalence of big family households of the extended and multiple type in the stockbreeding zone, running throughout the mountain systems of Bosnia, Hercegovina, Northern and Central Macedonia and Central Albania. Another similar region of a probable (though not computed) high frequency of complex families was the northwestern part of the Balkan range, the mountainous territories between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and the Rhodope region. The tribal region of Montenegro and Northern Albania could be added as a separate entity (Boehm 1983; Whitaker 1968 and 1976). There was a valley belt of *zadruga* presence, confined to the territories of Croatia, Slavonia and Vojvodina, i.e., to regions with the specific statute of the Military Frontier and characterized by serfdom. In these areas the second half of the nineteenth century also produced specific codes regulating legal relations of the *zadrugas* and encouraging the formation of large households. *Zadrugas* were also encountered, though in a much lesser degree, in some of the valleys of Serbia, Western and Central Bulgaria, Southern Macedonia and Southern Albania. The geographical frequency of *zadrugas* unequivocally follows the curve of the mountain terrain in the Balkans overlooking ethnic boundaries. Also, at least on the basis of the Bulgarian material, it can be safely assumed that the majority of the extended and multiple families of the *zadruga* type were engaged in animal farming or mixed stockbreeding-crop growing economy.

Although the *zadruga* has been most often treated as a specific type of household of relatives, it should be viewed as a complex structure and process alike, possessing a number of diverse aspects like kinship, property, inheritance, residence, labor organization, distribution, consumption, etc. (Hammel 1972 and 1975; Halpern and Wagner 1984, 229–244). It is precisely information on these latter aspects that is a *conditio sine qua non* for the description of a *zadruga*, but nineteenth- and twentieth century ethnographical data on the *zadruga* are descriptive and for the most part do not render themselves to any kind of quantitative analysis. Thus, strictly speaking, it is impossible to identify it completely with one or more of the proposed household types in the Laslett classification. Still, the *zadruga* can be made commensurable at least in qualitative terms. It can be safely assumed that in a representation based on kin structure, *zadrugas* can be exemplified by extended or multiple family household types.

I argued further that the term *zadruga* should be dismissed from quantitative historical-demographic analyses, though not from anthropological ones. This does not mean that the existence of *zadrugas* is denied, nor that it is impossible to have an approximate idea of their relative share and distribution. The *zadru-*

ga is qualitatively commensurate with the extended and multiple family household. These household forms, for their part, can be used not as substitutes for the *zadruga* but as existing forms comparable to respective forms in other European regions. Since the size of the household is an important element, all *zadrugas* can be safely said to have been extended or multiple family households. At the same time, treating the *zadruga* as a complex phenomenon, defined from the point of view of a cluster of different criteria, and set in a concrete historical context, it is apparent that not all extended and multiple family households were *zadrugas*. This obviously diminishes even further the relative share of the *zadruga* in the overall typology of the Balkan family, given the fact that the complex household forms (the extended and multiple families) were not statistically predominant. Consequently, I concluded that all attempts to maintain the predominance of the *zadruga* in Southeastern Europe (and in Bulgaria in particular) are, to say the least, presumptuous.

An alternative explanation for the existence of the *zadruga* was put forward in place of the theory of its permanent (or very early) presence and linear development. I suggested that the historically known and scholarly described *zadruga* could have been only a phenomenon of the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century, whose appearance (or recurrence) and decline is to be explained by different factors typical of this period only (e.g. the decentralization of the Ottoman empire, a possible correlation between the *çiftlik* economy and the rise and spread of *zadrugas*, etc.). A most promising area of exploration seemed to be the possible connection between stockbreeding economy and multiple families of the *zadruga* type.

The suggestion that the *zadruga* can be viewed not necessarily or only as an archaic survival, but possibly also as a new (or cyclical) response to challenges created by new conditions was put forward merely as a viable possibility, which could be proposed as an alternative hypothesis in place of the theory of the long-term existence of the *zadruga*. What was argued was solely that this possibility had as many, if not more, valid points, than the generally accepted one. This alternative hypothesis placed greater emphasis on environmental constraints without disregarding cultural and ideological factors.

In 1994, Michael Mitterauer entered the discussion about the Balkan family by comparing two works (Kaser 1992a and Todorova's *Balkan Family Structure* 1993), which had arrived at seemingly very different conclusions about the overall character of the Balkan family (Mitterauer 1994a). He rightly pointed out that the opposing conclusions stemmed partly from different regional perspectives (Kaser's being mostly centered on the pastoral societies of the Western Balkans, Todorova's sources covering mostly the territories of today's Bulgaria), partly from methodological differences (cultural-anthropological versus historical-demographic approaches). According to Mitterauer, "the centerpiece of the

discussion is the age of the widely spread complex form of family life, denoted with the nineteenth century term '*zadruga*'" (Mitterauer 1994a, 16). Having thus equated the *zadruga* with complex family households, Mitterauer, like Kaser, looked into the origins of these formations in patrilocality, patrilineality and patricentrism, and especially in the ancestor worship and the celebration of the household patron saint, a relic of tribal relations.[5] Mitterauer clearly endorsed Kaser's emphasis on patrilineality as a founding cultural principle in the creation and reproduction of social relations (Kaser 1993). The relevance of his interesting and detailed discussion on the role of ancestor worship to the problem of the *zadruga* was summarized thus:

> What do the origins of the celebration of the household patron saint tell us about the age of the *zadruga*? If in the *zadruga* we see something more than a mere constellation of households comprising many family couples and their children, namely such a form of family life, which is characterized by structural principles like patrilineality, the principle of seniority, male priority, strong group identity, strongly diversified functions which comprise also the sphere of cult, then the answer to the problem about its age would be completely different from the answer which depends on historical-demographic sources (and the sources which have reached us are limited only to the modern period) (Mitterauer 1994a, 29).

Based on this, he concluded that "in such a structural approach the computation of exact percentages for the complex families in the researched populations is meaningless" (Mitterauer 1994a, 29). There are two misunderstandings in the juxtaposition of my work and Kaser's. The first one concerns the "centerpiece of the discussion" which to me is not the age of the *zadruga* but rather the question of its *predominance.* In that case, it is difficult to accept the stricture about the meaninglessness of quantitative analysis whenever sources make it possible. As far as I am concerned, the "*zadruga*" *per se* is a clear-cut nineteenth century neologism which was coined and used to denote structures which had sprung up for very *different* reasons: some were the product, indeed, of archaic forms (and here I entirely agree with Kaser's and Mitterauer's excellent and elaborate analysis of the celebration of the patron saint); others, however, appeared or reappeared due to economic, ecological and demographic constraints, most likely, but not only, having to do with the pastoral economy. Still others were products not of a patrilineal tradition but of a centralized legislation (here the striking example of *zadruga* structures among Germans in the Military Border). My essential objection had been against the retrospective use of a nineteenth century *term,* not negating the phenomenon. In a word, I am not implying that forms which bear striking resemblance (or are identical) to the historically known

zadruga have not existed in previous centuries, but it is also not to be denied that some forms have not existed earlier (like their artificial appearance in some areas thanks to codification, or their probable cyclical nature which has to do more with ecological and economic than with cultural constraints). The retrospective use of the term leads, according to me, to an ahistorical approach and a nominalism, which attributes to the *zadruga* a structural permanency and the characteristics of a pillar of the Balkan family.

Still in the same line of reasoning, I think that complex families are often, but not always, coterminous with the *zadruga*. Now, if the argument was about the age and origins of complex families, I do not believe there would have been an argument at all; I have never denied the existence of multiple families in earlier centuries: there is ample proof for that. Neither would I ever assert that ancestor worship can be a late eighteenth century invention. On the other hand, linking the *zadruga* so directly to this cult poses the question of the spread of *zadrugas* in regions where the patron saint and ancestor worship had not the central importance it had for the regions described by Kaser (Todorova 1993b, 123–129). Vera Stein Erlich has described in her work three variants of the patriarchal system which she distinguished in interwar Yugoslavia. One of them, the tribal type, is identified by her in the Dinaric mountains and on its fringes, and is characterized by overvaluation of the male line and ancestor worship (Stein Erlich 1971, 366–373).[6] It seems that often this type is extrapolated and presented as the typical "Balkan pattern."

While the *zadruga* was a unique regional characteristic for the Balkans,[7] the question is how typical it was. Introduced as an object for ethnographic and legal research in the second half of the nineteenth century, it soon became a focus of theorizing efforts. Although the various theories which came into being stemmed from different, often basically contrasting motives, their converging effect was identical: the eternalization of the myth. Indigenous scholars had a polarized emotional attitude toward the *zadruga*. Most of its champions (and they comprised the majority of local scholars) acclaimed its existence for one of two opposing reasons. Traditionalists (or indigenists, autochtonists, protochronists or simply conservative nationalists) saw in it the unique local institution that would save the peculiarity and cultural identity of the peoples *vis à vis* the disruptive modernizing influence of the West by promoting virtues such as solidarity, mutual aid, etc. Others, accentuating what they saw as the eternal democratic and cooperative spirit of the *zadruga*, hoped that this would provide the natural road to a new social order.[8]

The attacks on the *zadruga*, though mild and much less considerable in number, came precisely from the opposite viewpoint: it was regarded as perpetuating a conservative traditional structure which would not give way to the new modernizing social currents but instead curbed individual initiative, cultivated a

slave mentality, provincialism, and xenophobic attitudes (Ivšić 1926; Ivšić 1933; Ivšić 1937–1938; Gavazzi 1934; Bičanić 1936; Stein Erlich 1966; Blagoev 1891; Blagoev 1985, 209–219; Penev 1976, 143–145). For all their diverse motives, the partisans of the different approaches invariably overstated their argumentation and consequently helped promote an exaggerated view of the place and role of the *zadruga* in the social life of the Balkans and specifically of the South Slavs.

Evaluations stemming from non-Balkan scholars also contributed to this tendency. The Balkans were treated as "the Volksmuseum of Europe," to borrow Hammel's apt dictum: "The social organization and culture of the Balkans [was] regarded as a still-living example of what life must have been like in the misty past of the Indo-European peoples" (Hammel 1980, 242). Studying the *zadruga* as the *chef d'oeuvre* of this museum through a magnifying glass certainly left its imprint on the proportions of the general picture.

Speaking about the notion of conceptual essentialism, James Carrier points out how "by defining what is significant, and hence worthy of attention, these concepts shape the ways that anthropologists approach and think about the societies they study."[9] By emphasizing differences rather than similarities, anthropologists may end up creating a representation which leads the readers to misrecognize the ethnographic descriptions and, in consequence, perceive the society as resulting from ethnographic evidence rather than from the theoretical framework which has shaped the presentation of the evidence:

> The reification of dialectical definition, then, poses problems. What had been only a distinguishing characteristic, albeit an important one, becomes a defining characteristic. And this in turn generates a key problem identified by the critics of anthropological orientalism: a distorted, exaggerated model of an alien society… The selectivity that had made sense in the original dialectical formulation became distortion; the model that had focused on difference between us and them, ignoring similarity, became a definition that denied or elided similarity (Carrier 1992, 204).

The second misunderstanding in the comparison of the two assessments about the family in the Balkan region concerns the fact that the difference between them has more to it than just dealing with different geographic regions or using distinct methodological approaches. While both works use the notion of "the Balkan family," it is far from correct to assert that "both authors have the same aim: to find generally valid conclusions about the Balkan family" (Mitterauer 1994a, 16). My main effort was immeasurably more modest: to show that the interregional variations in the Balkans were so substantive that any generalizations at this stage of our empirical knowledge are suspect and most often render themselves to myth-making. I therefore warned that "even putting aside the

methodological critique of the European family model, one point should be made clear. Sound and therefore also time-consuming scholarly research on Eastern Europe, and the Balkans in particular, is still so meager that it is impossible to draw valid general conclusions for the region, let alone embark on a broad comparativistic venture" (Todorova 1993 169–170). "Balkan family" to me is a notion which covers the rich variety of family forms in the Balkan region, just as "European family" in my understanding is no more than the constellation of diverse family forms in the European sub-continent, the Balkans inclusive. In fact, this is precisely what Michael Mitterauer has achieved, according to me, in all his nuanced and very carefully worded writings about the European family.

This is fundamentally different from the categorical assertion that a Balkan family pattern existed, and that it was "in clear opposition to the European pattern" and "strictly non European" (Kaser 1994, 1, 10). Moreover, the emphasis on the stability and formative power of long-term cultural characteristics which almost assume the nature of "traits," led to the statement that one can describe the constituting elements of this Balkan family pattern, as well as "the deep seated tendency toward violence" (Ibid., 1). It is this fundamental difference (no value judgment intended) in epistemological perspective which has to be explored, and because the two approaches have specific political and social meanings, they have to be compared both in regard to their heuristic power as well as to their consequences.

The direct link made between what has been described as the Balkan patriarchal system and its endemic violent propensity is not isolated, and with the war in Yugoslavia having reached troublesome proportions, rekindled old stereotypes and licensed indiscriminate generalizations about the region (Todorova 1994). History and anthropology, in particular, have been harnessed to provide a scholarly interpretation for the events in Yugoslavia in a Balkan context and give a credible explanation for the violence.

The standard argument attributes the violent propensities to the military ethos of the inhabitants of the Military Frontier (Vojna Krajina), in conjunction with their pastoral activities, and the extended families organized as clans and tribes (Donia and Fine 1994, 26–28, 38; Miedlig 1991, 1992 and 1994). It seems as if the mountaineers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have reentered the political stage of the late twentieth century unmarked by any change. On the surface of it, this argument seemingly takes into account environmental factors (mountainous terrain), economy (sheep and horse raising), social arrangements (extended families, clans, tribes) to explain the creation of a cultural pattern. The flaw of the argument, however, is that once the cultural pattern is created, it begins an autonomous life as a reified, unchangeable structure and no account is taken of the drastic changes that have occurred in the social environment of the Balkans in the subsequent periods.

All this is premised on the supposition of, and apparent conviction in, unconscious motors of behavior driven by cultural tradition. But one could approach the phenomenon from a different standpoint, acknowledging rational calculations and behavior on the part of the agents, and not explaining them in terms of driving passions and mentalities formed throughout centuries and millennia. In such a view the terror will be interpreted not simply as the externalization of a warrior side, but as adopting rational tactics. In a word, one would look at an underlying logic explicable in terms of rationally set aims, rather than irrational (or subconscious) urges.

As Hannes Grandits and Joel Halpern point out, after World War II and the Holocaust, one is bound to be extremely cautious in extending simplistic statements about the characteristics of a society, especially its relations to violence. This short proleptic declaration, however, does not deter the authors from writing a lengthy article about the patriarchal, pastoral, rural and communal background of the system of values in ex-Yugoslavia, which alongside the heroic tradition and historical war mentality, are seen as basic elements of the catastrophe (Grandits and Halpern 1994, 91–102). Criticizing this argument, and particularly the thesis of gendered violence as stemming from the patriarchal system, Jasna Čapo-Žmegač has shown that it is not the patriarchal order *per se* but its violent rupture which engenders violence, especially against women and the elderly (Čapo-Žmegač 1995, 10–13). This alternative interpretation, based on the work of Stein Erlich, has been also endorsed by Michael Mitterauer in his thoughtful remarks about the specifics of patriarchal culture in the Balkans (Mitterauer 1994b, 82–83).

Similarly, the reporting of incidents of rape in the Yugoslav war has coincided with a heightened consciousness and sensitivity to the fate of women in general. It has led to a view of the Serbs as particularly heinous rapists, indeed as originators of a rationally conceived and systematically executed policy of using rape as a war tool. It has further proclaimed that the use of rape in the former Yugoslavia can be understood only in the framework of the cultural values unique in the region, and stemming from communal family life and particular ideas about shame and virginity. To question all this does not mean in any way to trivialize the abhorrent deeds committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. What is in question is two tendencies: to elevate (or reduce) the Yugoslav event to a unique occurrence seemingly without precedent in history; and to explain it by means of pseudo-scientific interpretations. In the case of the rape question, some anthropologists stepped in to offer opinions on the specific character of rapes in Yugoslavia. In their view, the rapes could be understood only in the context of the specific code of shame typical for Yugoslavia and the Balkans, stemming from the pattern of communal life and in particular the acculturation of individuals in the climate and values of the extended and multiple families held to be predominant (or hegemonic) in the region:

> The rape is meant to collectively humiliate the enemy. What do the raped women think of first? Of something different than the Austrian, American or English women. The latter would ask themselves: Why precisely me? They would receive support from their families, but they would think primarily in individual terms. These women[10] think first of their husband, of the children, of the parents, of the relatives—of shame. This is how the many rapes can be explained. They are symbolic acts, which are supposed to reach the opponent in his political entirety ("Töten mit Messer" 1994, 106).

This categorical statement about what raped women are likely to think about is not based on any kind of sociological survey or interviews. Quite apart from the fact that it does not differentiate between groups of Yugoslav women, based on education, occupation and other criteria, it lumps together all Yugoslav women and constructs them as a cultural species quite apart from the similarly homogeneously constructed group of Austrian, American or English, i.e., Western women. But this is typical of the ease and irresponsibility with which overgeneralized categories are used in academic discourse, despite numerous evidence to the dubious repercussions in the extra-academic setting.

European family models have not been confined to demography or history, and their explanatory ambitions attempt (or are used) to cover and elucidate many more areas: those of culture, ideology and politics, among others. For the past two centuries the designation "Europe" has been used not simply as a neutral geographical entity but as a qualifier, a synonym for the normative side in a number of dichotomies. This poses the problem of self-awareness and self-evaluation in the field of historical demography, particularly in its modelling and classificatory endeavors. To what extent has it been shaped by pre-existing dichotomies of Europeanness and non-Europeanness? To what extent did it (consciously or involuntary) contribute to the perpetuation of these dichotomies? Needless to say, the frustrations about one's European allegiance are based on the different territorial span between the geographic, economic, political and cultural Europe, but it would be offensive to the general knowledge of European family model makers to claim that they have been blissfully ignorant about this long-standing discourse. Seen in such a light (and this is inevitable given the use of "Europe" in any present analytical discourse in the human and social sciences), the epistemological value of European family models, and particularly the posited divide between so called "European" and "non-European" societies within the geographical entity Europe, becomes extremely problematic.

Notes

1 This article appeared in *Family History Revisited. Comparative Perspectives.* Ed. By Richard Wall, Tamara K. Hareven and Josef Ehmer with the assistance of Markus Cerman, Newark: University of Delaware Press and London: Associated University Presses, 2001, 242–256. It was previously published in German as "Zum erkenntnishistorischen Wert von Familienmodellen. Der Balkan und die „europäische Familie" in the German version of the same volume: *Historische Familienforschung. Ergebnisse und Kontroversen. Michael Mitterauer zum 60. Geburtstag*, Hrsg. von Josef Ehmer, Tamara K. Hareven, Richard Wall unter Mitarbeit von Markus Cerman und Christa Hämmerle, Frankfurt, New York: Campus Verlag, 1997, 283–300.

2 See, in particular, the refinements to the notion of the stem-family, as for example by Berkner 1972, Mitterauer 1981, Fauve-Chamoux 1995.

3 It is only proper to mention here the few exceptions to the rule, the ones who carefully chose their categories and did not succumb to the temptation of using overarching labels: Laslett 1977, Mitterauer 1981, Mitterauer and Kagan 1982.

4 "Where does Europe end?," An International Conference on Household Structures, Demographic Patterns and Cultural Identities in Central and Eastern Europe, 6–9 April 1994, Budapest, Hungary.

5 For the definitive scholarly interpretation of rituals and celebration in the regions inhabited by South Slavs, see Khristov and Petko 2004. Avoiding the evolutionary approach to ancestor worship and celebrations as tribal relics, he offers a sophisticated analysis of the function of the diverse ritual processes as creating and maintaining group solidarity and identity at different levels of social organization (family, kin, or territorial).

6 The reference to Stein Erlich is from the working paper of Čapo-Žmegač 1995, 6.

7 Its uniqueness should likewise not be exaggerated. There are ample parallels with the French *frérèche* or the Italian *fratellanza*.

8 Thus, Svetozar Marković, one of the founders of socialism in Serbia, considered the *zadruga* "the purest form of collectivism," which would "elevate society from egoism to altruism, from exploitation to justice" (Halpern and Kerewski-Halpern 1972, 18).

9 Carrier gives the example of how scholars have dichotomically divided societies into gift and commodity societies and have tended not to see things that resemble commodity transactions in gift societies and vice versa (1992, 204).

10 I.e., the raped Yugoslav women.

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